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GEOGRAPHICAL FIELD GROUP

Regional Studies

UIG

A Hebridean Parish

by H. A. Moisley, M. Sc.

and Members of the Geographical Field Group

/introductory p. i/

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/Title Page/

1962

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Uig

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Parts I and II

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/introductory p. iii/

Department of Geography
The University
Glasgow, W. 2

Geographical Field Group
c/o Department of Geography
The University
Nottingham

INDIVIDUAL CROFT RECORD

TOWNSHIP ____________

125 DATE OF VISIT ____________

CROFT NO. ____________

In addition to mapping land use, and marking inhabited houses (on 1/10,560 map), the following should be recorded. N.B. It is not necessary, nor often desirable, to ask the crofter for all this data. Much can be obtained by observation.

1. THE CROFT

Area: Old arable: ____________ Outrun ____________

No. of shares in (a) common hill ____________ (b) common machair ____________ (c) any special commons separate from) (give details) ____________

2. CROPS (Areas to half an acre)

How much is cultivated by: (a) tractor ____________ (OWN/LOANED) (b) horse ____________ (c) spade ____________

Area, this year, of:

OATS: Croft: ________ Machair: ________
BERE: Croft: ________ Machair: ________
RYE: Croft: ________ Machair: ________
MIXED GRAIN: Croft: ________ Machair: ________
POTATOES: Croft: ________ Machair: ________

(If any of these undersown with grass mark 'S')

SOWN GRASS FOR HAY: ____________ (YEAR SOWN: 19__)
SOWN GRASS, GRAZING: ____________ (YEAR SOWN: 19__)
NATURAL GRASS, HAY: ____________
NATURAL GRASS, GRAZING ____________

How much of natural grass was formerly cultivated:

(a) In last 20 years: ____________ (b) 20-50 years ago: ____________ (c) More than 50 years ago ____________

Was any of the hill common (or special commons if any) formerly cultivated? Give details (on reverse) ____________

Have shielings ever been used? Give details (on reverse) ____________

Domestic garden: YES/NO. Produce marketed: YES/NO (Specify) ____________

Fertilisers etc.: SEAWEED/SHELL-SAND/LIME/ARTIFICIALS (Specify) ____________

Crofts: FENCED/NOT FENCED. If fenced are they open to common grazing in winter? YES/NO. If yes, state dates ____________

3. STOCK (Give number at present; if possible add in parentheses number sold in past 12 months

CATTLE: 3 years+: ____( ) 2–3 years ____( ) 1 year ____( ) Calves ____

SHEEP: Breeding ewes ____( ), Other sheep ____( ), Lambs at lambing ____, Lambs at end of September ____( ) .Try . get several years' experience of lambing: ____________

IF CLUB STOCK STATE SHARE ____________ (and dividend, if possible, ____________).

HORSES: ____________ POULTRY: ____________ PIGS ____________

4. HOUSE etc. *(Ring inhabited houses on map)*

House on croft? YES/NO. Is it OCCUPIED/UNOCCUPIED/RUINED? More than one? If so give details: FEU/COTTAR etc.

Numbers of household in age groups (M: Male, F: Female): (Underline tenant of croft)

Age 0–4	Age 5–14	Age 15–44	Age 45–64	Age 65+
(a) PERMANENTLY RESIDENT:				
(b) PERIODICALLY AWAY (from parish) (e.g. students, seasonal workers: also conscript National Servicemen)				
(c) PERMANENTLY AWAY, but having no other home (e.g. Nurses, M.Navy, Regular Forces)				
(d) IMMIGRANTS ('I') and EMIGRANTS ('E') since 1939 (to and from parish)				

UIG

A Hebridean Parish

Parts I and II (1961) and Parts III and IV (1962).

A loose title page is available in case copies of all four parts ar bound together.

Errata

Page iii	Chapter VII, for page 39 read page 41.
Page 25	Line 8, for possission read possession.
Page 31	Chapter VII, for page 39 read page 41.
Page 53	Appendices A(3) and A(4). In column headed Status of tenants, for M 54, M 65, F 65, F 65, read M under 65, M over 65, F under 65, F over 65, in each category.

Title page to Parts III and IV: for Regional Studies No.9 read No.7.

/introductory p. v/

PREFACE

114 121 This report is the result of a remarkable co-operative enterprise. In August, 1959, a party of 19 members of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association undertook a survey of crofting in Uig, one of the four parishes of the Isle of Lewis. In less than three weeks more than 700 crofts and other households were visited or recorded in accordance with a scheme devised by my colleague, Dr. Caird, and myself. This scheme has been used by us in other parts of the Hebrides and, therefore, the record of Uig is an integral part of our Outer Hebridean crofting survey, undertaken between [122] 1956 and 1961. We are extremely grateful to the nineteen voluntary field-workers who, it is worth recording, travelled from England and stayed in Uig entirely at their own expense in order to help us: they could have spent their holiday more cheaply in Switzerland - an enlightening comment on the fundamental economic disadvantage of the Hebrides.

Geographical Field Group

114

Catherine M. Baker
Dennis H. Barrat
Elisabeth Blowers
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Ann V. Feighan
Pamela M. Gough
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Bryan Hurl
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Dennis R. Mills
Jennifer K. Oxenbury
Doreen J. Phillips
David G. Symes
Philip Wheeler

Scottish Field Studies Association

Miss F. Madge Phillips
Mr. Roger H. Thomas

125 [121] The object of the work was to make an impartial record of the state of crofting as a way of life and as a means of livelihood. The boundaries and land-use of every croft were recorded on 1/2500 plans, enquiries were made as to acreages of crops and grass and numbers of livestock, and the population of each household was recorded, taking account of sex, age and occupation (part or full-time) of each member including those who, perforce, must seek work elsewhere even though their only home is in Uig. The Croft Record form is reproduced opposite.

122 The successful completion of the survey was not only due to the co-operation of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association. Adequate preparation would not have been possible without the advice and help of officials of the Department of Agriculture, County Council, Scottish Land Court, Crofters Commission, David Macbrayne Ltd, the estate factors and many other bodies. Miss C. B. Smith, Carnegie Research Assistant, undertook much of the tedious preparatory clerical work. In Uig 123 itself we were encouraged and assisted wherever we went. We owe exceptional debts of gratitude to the Ministers, school-masters and township clerks, who welcomed us and made our purpose known throughout the parish, also to the families who took us into

123 their houses and allowed us to completely disorganise them with our mountainous heaps of maps, files and notebooks, and particularly to the housewives whose excellent meals were never out-paced by our enormous appetites. Finally, although in general it is invidious to mention names when we received so much help from so many, four gentlemen whose assistance was quite exceptional deserve special thanks - Donald John Macleod, Breasclete; John Macdonald, Meavaig; Donald Maclean, The Schoolhouse, Valtos; and 'Murdanny' Macdonald, Breaclete, Bernera.

114 The supervision of field work by nineteen persons whose training and previous experience varied very widely was no easy task. I am happy to record my thanks to those members who undertook special responsibilities in this respect; in particular to Philip Wheeler who took complete charge of the Bernera district, and to Brian Loughbrough 128 who exercised supervision of the East Loch Roag - Loch Carloway district. Every effect was made to ensure that our record was complete and accurate; nevertheless we cannot claim perfection. In some townships, despite cross-checking of maps against croft records, serious discrepancies were subsequently found in the cropping data; in others the stock (of sheep in particular) obtained by adding individual croft records is short of the total which were led to expect in the township as a whole. As far as possible such discrepancies have been accounted for, and we believe and hope that our data and conclusions will be of some assistance to those whose duty it is to ensure the economic and social well-being of these crofting communities.

This report consists of four parts:

Part I: Introductory (on crofts and crofters)

Part II: District accounts of South Uig

Part III: District accounts of Bernera, East Loch Roag and Carloway

Part IV: Analysis of agriculture and population data, and conclusions.

Parts I and II form the first volume; parts III and IV will form the second. The actual preparation and printing has been greatly aided by the advice and patient assistance of Mr. G. P. Richardson, Assistant Secretary of the Court, and of his staff in the printing department of Glasgow University.

H. A. Moisley.

CONTENTS

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Part I

/p. iii/

Chapter — Page
Introduction 1
I Physical Background H.A. Moisley 3
II Some Historical Aspects " 7
III The Crofting Structure " 15

Part II

IV The Atlantic Coast Pamela M. Gough 32
V The Uig Bay District Elisabeth Blowers 35
VI Aird Madge Phillips 39
VII Valtos, Kneep and Reef David G. Symes 44
VIII Little Loch Roag District Annie Heawood 48

Parts III and IV, published separately, contain the remaining district accounts and general analyses of crofting agriculture, population and employment.

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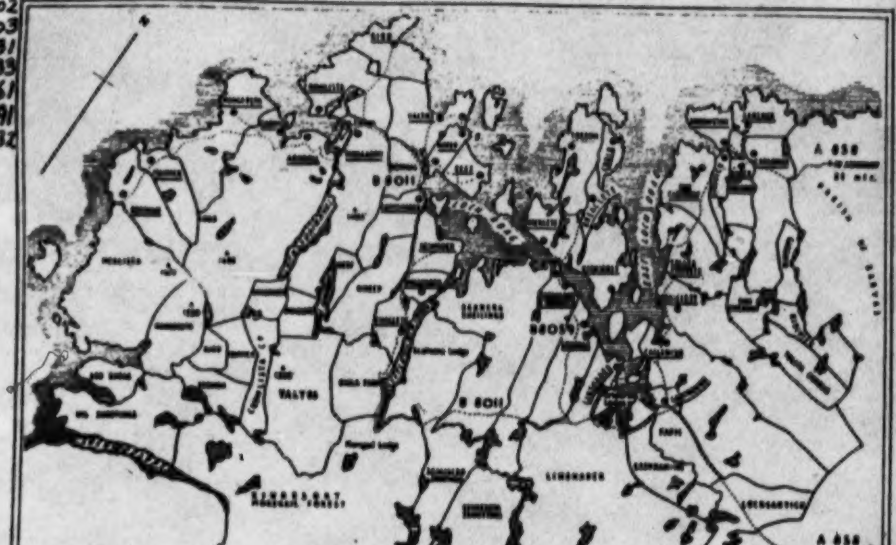
B 8011
TALTOS
A 858
PARISH OF LOCHS
MILES
10 miles
N
ISLE OF LEWIS
UIG
STORNOWAY
HARRIS
NORTH UIST
SKYE
KYLE OF LOCHALSH
THE PARISH OF UIG
Isle of Lewis
CROFTING TOWNSHIPS AIRD
where a township name is repeated in an island area the latter is a common pasture, former shielings.
TARRED ROADS B 8011
FARMS AND SPORTING ESTATES ARE NAMED

Figure 1.

/facing p. 1/

INTRODUCTION

131 The parish of Uig, Fig. 1, forms the south-west quadrant of Lewis; it falls naturally into three sections, each almost completely separated from the other by the salt waters of Loch Roag, Little Loch Roag and East Loch Roag.

South-west Uig is almost an island: only four miles separate the southern tip of Little
133 Loch Roag and the head of Loch Resort which, penetrating deeply from the Atlantic, marks the boundary between Lewis and Harris. It is a mountainous area with fifteen miles of
[491] exposed Atlantic coast between Loch Resort and Gallan Head. From the ultimate settlements, Brenish and Islivig, the main road (B 8011) takes a tortuous course of some 40
133 miles to Stornoway. Population is concentrated where soil and climatic conditions are
361 mitigated by the presence of machair (wind blown shell sand) and by the shelter afforded by the peninsulas of Aird Mhor Mangersta and Gallan Head. The chief settlements are thus around Uig Bay*, and on the western shores of Loch Roag. In addition each township has common pastures on the interior moors and mountains where shielings were maintained into the present century.

East of Little Loch Roag the road climbs over a moorland plateau at 250'-500' O. D.. More that 12 miles separates Enaclete, the last township on Little Loch Roag, from Garynahine, the first on East Loch Roag. The moor is uninhabited shooting and shieling ground; the population of this area is to be found to the north, on Great Bernera, an island now connected by a bridge, and on the adjacent mainland shore.

[491] Eastwards again the inland continuation of East Loch Roag is a great peat-filled depression which connects with Loch Leurbost on the east coast. This depression is skirted on its northern side by the main road, to Stornoway, A 858. The boundary between the parishes of Uig and Lochs cuts across this depression, which contains the only inland townships of Lewis - Loch Ganvich and Achmore. On the north-eastern shores of East Loch Roag is to be found more than half the population of the parish of Uig. The succession of densely populated townships from Garynahine to Carloway is much more typical of Lewis than are the more scattered and generally smaller, settlements of south Uig which are more like those of Harris, the Uists and Barra.

The sketch map, figure 1, shows the location and boundaries of the townships and other lands within the parish, and also the main roads. The reader will find it necessary, however, to make constant use of either Bartholomew's Half-Inch, or Ordnance Survey One-Inch to one mile, maps. In general topographic names are spelled in accordance with the latter.

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[102] * Uig: Vik, Old Norse for a bay.

/p. 2/

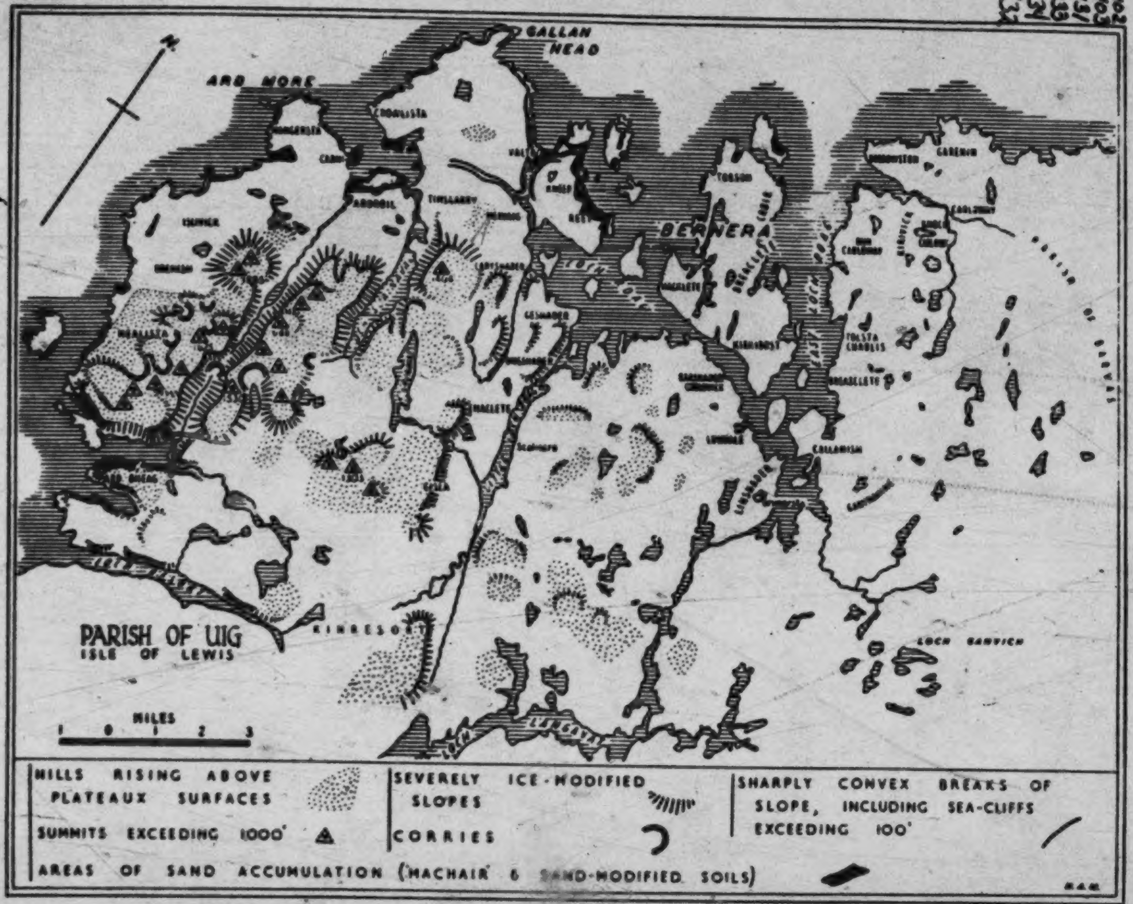
GALLAN HEAD
ARD MORE
BERNERA
LOCH ROAG
CALLANISH
LOCH GANVICH
KINRESORT
LOCH LANGAVAT
PARISH OF UIG
ISLE OF LEWIS
MILES
1 0 1 2 3
HILLS RISING ABOVE PLATEAUX SURFACES
SUMMITS EXCEEDING 1000'
SEVERELY ICE-MODIFIED SLOPES
CORRIES
SHARPLY CONVEX BREAKS OF SLOPE, INCLUDING SEA-CLIFFS EXCEEDING 100'
AREAS OF SAND ACCUMULATION (MACHAIR & SAND-MODIFIED SOILS)
M.A.M.

Figure 2

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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

CHAPTER I

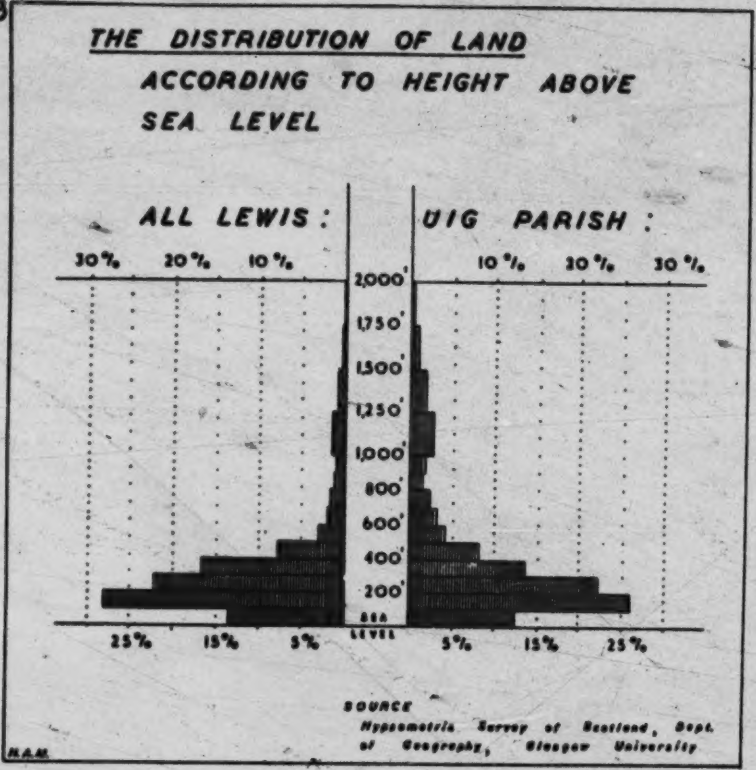
THE PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

153 Lewisian Gneiss is ubiquitous, though often concealed by peat or, more rarely, by glacial drift. It is a grey foliated rock consisting of quartz, feldspar and ferro-magnesian minerals; the foliation varies from a vague alignment of the minerals to a strong banding of dark and light constituents. Minor variations in the mineral constituents give rise to lumps, lenticles and bands of basic and ultra-basic character; differential erosion may pick these out to form ridges and hillocks up to half-a-mile in extent. In the south-west occurs an area of foliated granite of Lewisian age, part of a larger complex which, cut by Loch Resort and West Loch Tarbert, extends into North and South Harris. At first sight the contrast between the mountainous south-west and the relatively plain central and northern parts of the parish might be attributed to the occurrence of this foliated granite but examination shows that this is by no means invariably the case. Indeed, the highest mountains of Harris are formed of gneiss, not granite; a similar plutonic intrusion north of East Loch Roag has only a slight physiographic manifestation.

The Lewisian is broken by a complicated network of lines of weakness; these are presumably faults, though their displacement can seldom be detected. Differential erosion, particularly by ice, has developed these bands, etching out a fantastic pattern of interlocking depressions, some filled by sea and fresh-water lochs, some by peat. These fall into two main groups: firstly an arcuate series dominated by the depression which runs from Loch Leurbost, by Loch Achmore and Loch Ganvich to the head of East Loch Roag and thence westwards by the straits of Bernera (Loch Barraglom), between Reef and Flodday, through Glen Valtos to Uig bay. Another member of this series is represented by Loch Ouirn, on the Minch coast, by the curious east-west head of Loch Seaforth, by the hollow occupied by the s-bend of Loch Langavat, by Loch Resort and Caolas Scarp. Secondly, a more numerous group of generally smaller depressions represents the etching out of lines of weakness which vary from north - south (in the west e.g. Uig bay - Loch Raonasgail - Loch Tamanavay, also Loch Suainaval) to N. N. W. - S. S. E. (in the centre and east, e.g. Little Loch Roag, East Loch Roag and numerous smaller depressions).

During the earlier and more extensive glaciations ice from the mainland must have pushed right across this part of Lewis. To this westward-moving ice must be attributed the differential erosion of the east-west depressions and, in all probability, the deposits of deeply weathered boulder clay found to the north-east of East Loch Roag. Later local glaciation has clearly affected the southern mountains. Here, as in North Harris, there is plentiful evidence of the retreat stages of a local ice cap or group of inter-connected mountain glaciers. Ice accumulation probably centred on the Morsgail Forest basin, between the south Uig mountains and those of North Harris; the northerly outflow of ice was responsible for the overdeepening of such valleys as Loch Suainaval, Loch Raonasgail, and Little Loch Roag. Extensive deposits of gravelly drift around Uig bay, and less extensive deposits near Valtos are the deposits of such glaciers. Their relatively recent age is attested by their fresh morphological character with numerous unsilted kettle lakes (despite the high rainfall of this region). Associated with them is the huge and spectacular Carnish kame-moraine, and the deep, steep-sided Valtos Glen. The former is a deposit of fluvioglacial water flowing from the south round the west side of Uig bay, the latter is the result of erosion by water flowing round the east of Uig bay to Loch Roag. One can only conclude that both features originated when Uig bay was occupied by a great mass of ice which must have blocked direct outflow to the sea.

153



THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND ACCORDING TO HEIGHT ABOVE SEA LEVEL

SOURCE
Hypsometric Survey of Scotland, Dept. of Geography, Glasgow University

Figure 3.

The diagram illustrates the essential contrast between Uig and the rest of Lewis. Uig has extensive uplands and mountains (26% above 400') whilst Lewis as a whole is characterised by low plateaux (81% below 400').

133 Over most of the parish the natural landscape is a series of low plateaux, generally below 250' O. D. around East Loch Roag, but rising westwards to an extensive platform with many summits around 500'-700'. Into this platform, towards its western edge, is incised the narrow trough containing Little Loch Roag. Above it rise the deeply dissected mountains of North Harris and south west Uig, with many precipitous slopes reaching to 1,500' or more and summits to 1,885'. The discontinuity between plateau and mountain is particularly well displayed along the Atlantic coast, where it corresponds roughly with the junction of granite and gneiss; an even more severe discontinuity, but formed entirely in gneiss; is to be seen near the south end of Loch Langavat. Liuthaid (1,611' O. D.) rises more than 1,400' in less than a mile. The mountains, although lacking height, are therefore spectacular in appearance. The low plateaux are far from featureless, too; their surfaces have been roughened and scraped bare by ice action and numerous hollows preserve shallow lochans and a few larger lakes. Occasional rocky hillocks rise 20'-100' above the plateaux; their abrupt discontinuity with the smooth surfaces is entirely comparable, though in miniature, with that of the mountains. They resemble nothing more than tropical inselberge and have no apparent structural explanation.

Unconsolidated superficial material, such as would provide sub-soil drainage and suitable raw material for soil formation, is rare. The characteristic surface almost everywhere is bare rock, often blanketed by peat at lower levels and on gentle slopes. Morainic material is most commonly preserved in hollows; peri-glacial conditions and, 135 more recently, heavy rainfall have swept clear most of the higher and steeper places. In the east and north east, e.g. around Loch Carloway, a sticky grey clay with large boulders is sometimes seen; the coarse gravelly drifts of south Uig have already been mentioned. It is impossible to make any useful generalisations regarding the characteristics and distribution of the boulder clays because their occurrence is so sporadic and exposures, [317] beneath the peat blanket, are rare. Very occasionally, e.g. in Bernera, a finely bedded dull bluish or greenish grey clay is seen which is said to have been used for coarse pottery. This may be a lacustrine deposit of late glacial or early post glacial times or it might be a marine clay of the same period; there is however, no clear example of a raised beach in the area, which, were it present, might support the latter suggestion. [317] Since our visit a lacustrine deposit of diatomite has been exploited on a small scale in Bernera.

Extensive deposits of fine white sand occur around Uig bay and in the Valtos-Kneep-Reef area; smaller deposits occur at Mangersta and Mealasta. Except at Cliff bay, Valtos, where it contains a high mineral content, the sand consists largely of finely broken shell debris. This blows readily and is found inland for half a mile or more and as high as 100' O.D., thus providing a natural surface dressing rich in lime. There are extensive machairs (sandy plains) at Kneep and Reef, and smaller ones at Uig bay, Mangersta, and Bosta (Bernera). Little cultivation takes place on the machairs nowadays.

133 In the whole parish little soil, such as would be recognised by a lowland farmer, is to be found. The most usual surface features are bare rock and blanket bog; arable land, hay 134 meadows and improved pastures are generally made on peat, gathered together into long [401] narrow beds - so-called "lazy beds" - separated by deep ditches. This expedient may [231] mean that the use of tractors is impossible; since horses have almost disappeared, cultivation in such cases, if carried out at all, must now be by the spade alone. This is 133 the traditional method of lazy-bed work; it may be very productive in terms of yield per 134 square yard but it is pathetically unproductive in terms of man-hours. In some areas it 241 is clear that it has led to soil erosion. Even where the size and lay-out of the beds permits tractor work the tractor probably spends as much time manoevering into position and turning, as it does ploughing. In a few places, e.g. some of the East Loch Roag

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7]

TABLE 1

Climatic Statistics, Stornoway (S.) and Benbecula (B.)

Month	Av. Daily Temperature (F°) Max. S.	Max. B.	Min. S.	Min. B.	Av. monthly precipitation (inches) S.	B.	Av. no. of days with rain: S.	with snow-fall S.	snow-fall B.	with gales S.	gales B.	Cloud amount S.
Jan.	44	44	37	37	6.4	4.7	26	4	5	10	6	7.4
Feb.	44	44	37	38	3.2	3.8	22	4	5	6	4	7.9
Mar.	47	47	37	39	3.2	3.0	23	5	4	4	2	7.4
Apr.	49	50	39	41	3.1	3.2	21	3	2	3	4	7.4
May	54	55	43	44	2.5	2.1	19	-	-	1	1	7.5
June	58	58	47	49	2.4	3.2	18	0	0	1	-	7.7
July	61	61	51	52	3.0	3.3	20	0	0	-	-	8.4
Aug.	61	62	51	52	4.3	3.5	22	0	0	1	1	8.0
Sep.	57	58	48	49	4.7	4.6	22	0	0	3	3	7.8
Oct.	53	53	44	46	6.2	5.5	25	-	-	7	3	8.1
Nov.	48	49	40	42	4.6	5.2	25	2	2	5	3	7.3
Dec.	45	46	38	40	5.5	6.0	25	4	3	7	7	7.2

Notes: Stornoway: 1901 - 1950, except snow, gales and cloud (1926-1935).
Benbecula: 1943-1955.

133 townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a
134 gravelly dirft,[1] free-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has
134 been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of lazybed cultivation are not necessary
241 and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate
[401] of west Lewis, are eminently suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much
more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has
been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable
ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most
important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at
134 Mealasta, Mangersta and Bosta (Bernera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin
131 heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Since
[231] the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures,
particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and
coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are
now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, soon reverts. Rushes and flags
invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soon
invade the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. The
limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development
of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation
readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat
and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

132 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some
for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effect
on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture.
Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown.
Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperatures;
this suggests that if pastures could be improved in suitably sheltered places far more
advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that
the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be
seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Bernera and the area north
[246] east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in
[221] May and June ought to make for a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows,
such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to
seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

172 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the
occurence of standing stones, brochs and duns. The Callanish circle and its satellites
are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the
former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be
clear. Most of the duns are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at
[174] Doune Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of
[103] settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse
[162] elements such as -sish, -vick, -bost and -shader; it seems probable that most of the
present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

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[1] [Presumably the author means "drift"--Analyst]

102
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/p. 8/

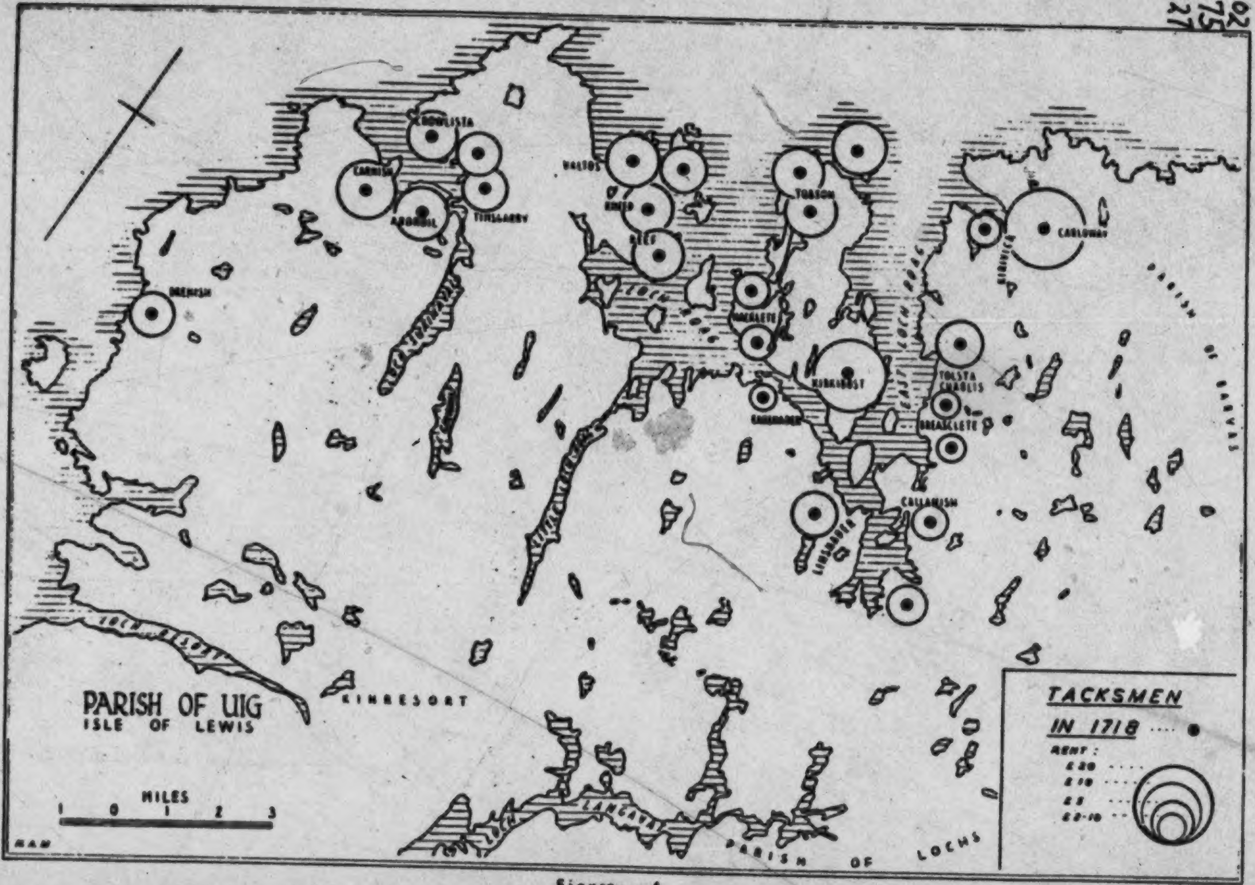
PARISH OF UIG
ISLE OF LEWIS
MILES
1 0 1 2 3
CROWLISTA
CARNISH
ARDROIL
TIMSGARRY
BREINISH
VALTOS
KNEEP
REEF
TOBSON
CARLOWAY
HACKLETE
KIRKIBOST
EARSHADER
TOLSTA CHAOLAIS
BREASCLETE
CALLANISH
LINSHADER
LOCH ROAG
EAST LOCH ROAG
LOCH RESORT
KINRESORT
LOCH LANGAVAT
PARISH OF LOCHS
PARISH OF BARVAS
TACKSMEN
IN 1718
RENT :
£ 20
£ 10
£ 5
£ 2-10

Figure 4

192 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Moragail Deer Forest, in remote situations which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1790 here) - but the huts do not decay with age and may be very much older.

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427
[illegible]
Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of 1718, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2).[1] Five of them cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17% of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

[241]

[178]
[369]

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[407]
[499]
000
By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied! whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the minister recorded 1,898 . At this time there was neither plough nor cart in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

162
178
233
422

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

---

[632] * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

[1] [See p. 2--Analyst]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

102
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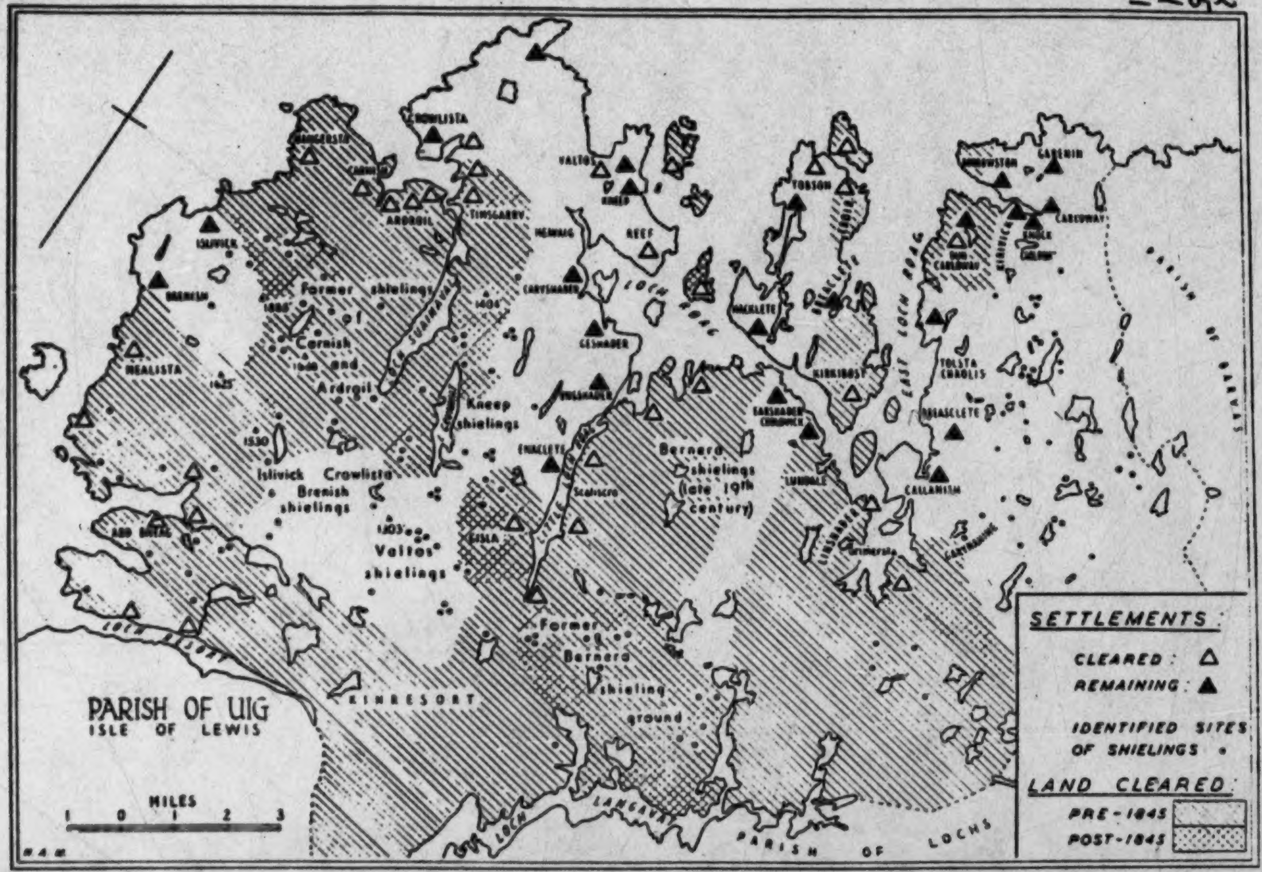
PARISH OF UIG
ISLE OF LEWIS
MILES
1 0 1 2 3
SETTLEMENTS :
CLEARED : △
REMAINING : ▲
IDENTIFIED SITES OF SHIELINGS •
LAND CLEARED :
PRE-1845
POST-1845
CROWLISTA
MANGERSTA
CARNISH
ARDROIL
TIMSGARRY
ISLIVICK
BRENISH
MEALISTA
VALTOS
KNEEP
REEF
CARISHADER
GESHADER
ENACLETE
ORASHADER
LOCH ROAG
TOBSON
HACKLETE
KIRKIBOST
EARSHADER
CIRBOST
LINSHADER
CALLANISH
TOLSTA CHAOLIS
BREASCLETE
GARENIN
CARLOWAY
EAST LOCH ROAG
PARISH OF BARVAS
Former shielings of Carnish and Ardroil
Kneep shielings
Islivick Brenish shielings
Crowlista
Valtos shielings
Bernera shielings (late 19th century)
Former Bernera shieling ground
Scaliscro
LITTLE LOCH ROAG
LOCH RESORT
KINRESORT
LOCH LANGAVAT
PARISH OF LOCHS
1805
1825
1830
1850
1851
1803

Figure 5

/p. 10/

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
175 as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
[241] boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly
outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To
[226] encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
[251] to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who
visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in
[441] cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems
[614] to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844.
But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late
175 eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the
228 Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
[221] the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in
Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
[233] to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting
the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3. ✓
[162]
[178]

Clearance and Congestion.

175 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the
228 Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the
land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
175 yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempting industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-
233 lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in
166 order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the
extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates
427 of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded,
but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scaliscro, with
[274] the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little
Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of
Mealksta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that
district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families
being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual
175 crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of
427 Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite
Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Stsome and
Droversish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west
Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and
Linshader.

By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as
175 fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same
land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select
Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was
inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
[162] population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that
in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century
would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,463; Figure 8).[1]

[1] [See p. 18--Analyst]

175 The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental
429 causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his
tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development.
[233] Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward
[311] hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and
brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond
[331] Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig the
[499] results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry,
[224] Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of
Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board,
[162] for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population
of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded
[168] into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the population of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

175 No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer
429 so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were de-
311 prived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes
233 restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their
own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid
[161] natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families
in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same
[162] period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Floday
and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example, only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such stories could be multiplied many times.

[103] In the Bernera district, by the 1850's, only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the island) and Earshader and Cruilivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families. Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest which was formed out of the Scaliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the old lazy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were consequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag, next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

195 429 311 a well cultivated small farm, a striking example of what can be done with this unpromising terrain. It is probably true that one of the objects of forming farms was to introduce improved methods and so set an example to the small tenants. The contrast, today, between Garynahine Farm and the nearby crofts, suggests that more than example is required.

TABLE 4

POPULATION CHANGES 1841-1851

161 162 175

District	1841	1851	Change	(%)
Carloway	554	659	+105	(+19)
E. L. Roag	581	717	+136	(+23)
Bernera	670	676	+6(1)	(+1)
L. L. Roag	217	259	+42	(+19)
Valtos etc.	711	484	-227(2)	(-32)
Uig Bay	520	426	-94(3)	(-18)
South	384	348	-36	(-9)

Notes: (1) Vuamore - 46 (-100%). Kirkibost, Linshader, etc. had already been cleared.
(2) Reef -180 (-96%).
(3) Carnish - 60 (-36%) - but completely cleared before 1861.
(Township figures are not available before 1841).

The birth of the crofting landscape.

195 429 311 638 A further mid-nineteenth century attempt to improve the productivity of the small-tenants' holdings was the lotting of runrig lands to form individual crofts. In a report to Seaforth c. 1800, the Rev. Headwick had recommended the abolition of runrig* and some lotting of crofts took place about 1811 ** - about which time runrig was being abolished in North and South Uist - but many townships in Uig, as elsewhere in Lewis, escaped this lotting. In Bernera, Kirkibost was probably lotted at this time and the crofts fenced; in 1852, despite clearance, the first Ordnance surveyors were able to record the old fences (which were used as the croft divisions when Kirkibost was re-settled in 1878). The now much divided crofts of Kneep (see also fig.22) are probably of the same date. Reef appears, also, to have been lotted early, for the remnants of fences recorded by the Ordnance Surveyors in 1850-1852, (Reef was cleared in 1850), show crofts of the same general form as those of Kirkibost, and quite unlike those of the 1850 lotting. [621] Consequently, in many townships until this date, the houses remained huddled together in tight little groups, often inter-communicating one with another. The groups, or clachans, were usually set in the midst of the arable land. The runrig system had certain disadvantages, but, as a basic agricultural structure for small holders, it had two considerable advantages which may be relevant to modern conditions. Firstly, it was flexible: within it the individual's holdings varied in size and rent and it was possible, at the periodic re-allocation, to adjust the size according to family needs. An elderly person did not need to be burdened with a holding larger than he required, or was able, to cultivate; a young man with a

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[113] ** Report.... on the Condition of the Cottar Population of the Lews. (C.5265), 1888, p.37

* The essence of runrig was that any individual's arable land was in many pieces, scattered promiscuously amongst those of his neighbours. Periodic re-allocation of pieces was usual, but the period varied and in some cases was infrequent.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15]

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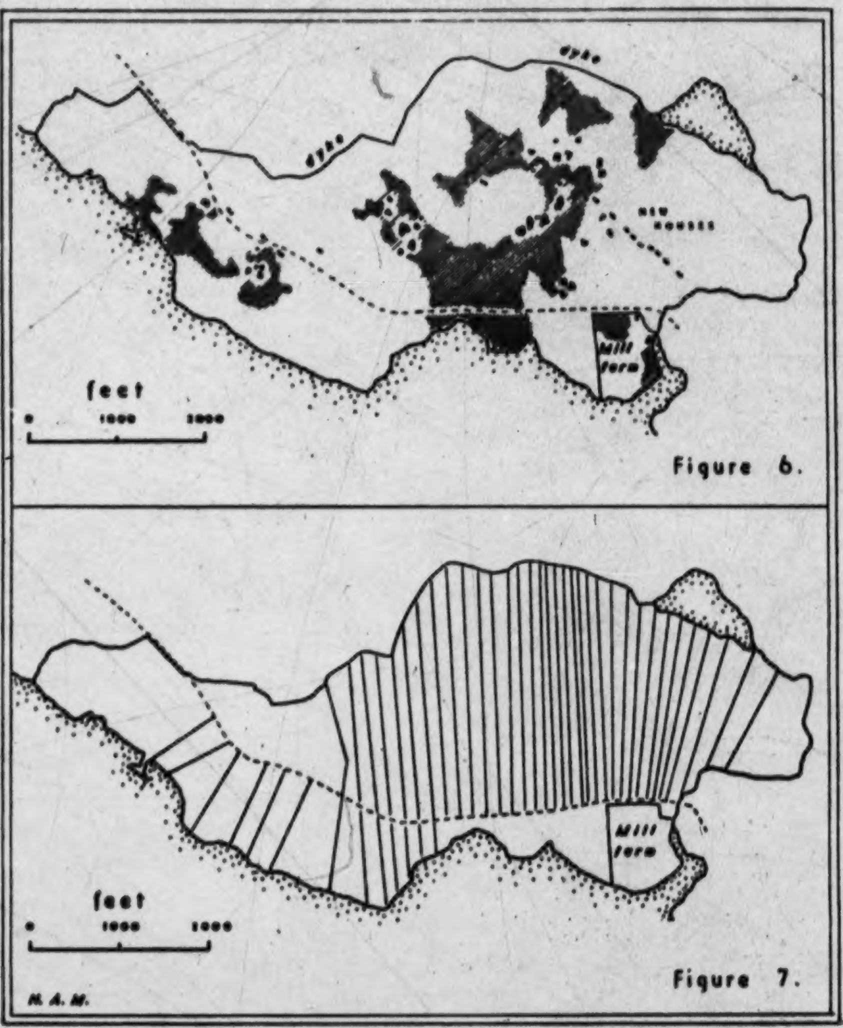
dyke
dyke
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NEW
HOUSES
Mill
farm
feet
0
1000
2000
Mill
farm
feet
0
1000
2000
M. A. M.

Figure 6.

Figure 7.

Figures 6 and 7

THE LOTTING OF BREASCLETE

Figure 6 shows the irregular clusters of old houses and patches of arable land (hatched) within the infield dyke. On the right the first of the new houses, standing in a row each on its own 'lot' (or 'croft'), are shown.

Figure 7, from the contemporary Factor's notebook, shows the new crofts as lotted in 1850. Note that these were not fenced.

175 growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences
427 a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the
311 proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the
632 interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently to individuals, there was less flixibility and less need for communal management. But the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring fence existed,stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lotting was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans and in some - Breasclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch maps show some of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

175 Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape, we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new
632 lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise
178 more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads.
[367] Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. A dispersed pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants to be accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases they might be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or access track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

427 In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through
[428] several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act. Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory. Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years
[166] old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships. Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

427 Nevertheless, the attachment to the holdings is very real and must be given careful con-
511 sideration when assessing their present utilisation and potential value. It is particularly
significant because it leads to large numbers of tenants retaining holdings which are far
[461] too small to yield a living. Inevitably they seek other sources of income either at home
(as by weaving or casual road labour) or away (as in the Merchant Navy, armed forces,
police or other skilled or unskilled work). As a consequence the croft is neglected and
[281] its potential resources, small as they are, are not realised. The decline in cattle
numbers since the late nineteenth century gives some indication of the scale of this lost
productivity over the parish as a whole. This is the crofter's own loss. Individually
one can appreciate the problem - "four cows will not give me a living - better to get
[745] work on the hydro-scheme and sell the cows". And when one hydro-scheme finishes
another will take its place, or there will be casual road work or other labour and, between
times, the unemployment benefit which the self-employed crofter does not get.

Certainly the land is of poor quality, the climate in some respects severe, and the
cost of transport, from Uig even to Stornoway let alone to the mainland, a perpetual prob-
[421] lem. But the root of the problem is the small size of most of the crofter-holdings, on
the one hand, and, on the other, the importance which most crofters attach to the posses-
[181] sion of a holding, no matter how small and how neglected it may be. How has this come
to be?

TABLE 5

The multiplication of crofter-tenants, and their increasing rents, 1850-1890.

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	Tenants:		Rental:	
	1850	1890	1850	1890
Garenin	15	27	£70	£78
Tolsta Chaolis	29	40	£86	£96
Knock Carloway	16	33	£52	£66
Upper Carloway	25	53	£81	?
Breasclete	38	61	£111	£121
Breasclete Park	4	9	£3	£14
Callanish	38	52	£82	£104
Brenish	25	28	£94	£94
Islivick	13	10	£23	£28
Aird	9	10	£30	£29
Valtos	29	40	£149	?
Kneep	18	23	£89	£80

Congestion and Sub-division.

195 The crofting population of Uig started the second half of the nineteenth century with
311 far less land than had been occupied by their forebears fifty years before, and, although
161 famine, clearance and emigration had slightly reduced the population between 1841 and
162 1861, (from 3,828 to 3,630) thereafter it again increased, reaching about 4,600 in 1891.
Rising agricultural prices after 1850 favoured farmers and crofters alike but, whilst the
427 farmers prospered the crofters merely multiplied, thus in effect reducing the land
available to each family. In 14 townships recorded in the 1850 sketch book the 273 holdings
at that date had become 402 by about 1890, to which should be added a considerable
number of cottars and squattars, many of them keeping stock and some sharing the rent
427 of the crofts on which they had built their cottages. Detailed comparison of the rentals
195 for the two dates shows that the increase had come about in two ways: firstly, it appears
161 that, from time to time, where a new rent ledger was being made up, the factor would
record separately cottars who actually shared the rent of the croft and, secondly, he
162 would recognise and enter some of the squatters who had obtained rent-free (and illegal)
holdings by enclosing and reclaiming from the common. The latter were added to the
souming of the townships according to the rent put upon them. Table 5 (page 16),
illustrates the process. The recognition of squatters, usually at £1-£2 per annum, led
to the small increases in total rental. For the rest, the increasing numbers were
caused by subdivision. Only in a few cases does the proprietor seem to have actively
encouraged land reclamation by crofters. On April 17, 1850, four of the families which
had been cleared out of Reef were allowed to settle on the Callanish common near the
Breasclete boundary (hence the settlement became known as 'Breasclete Park'. Their
rent was fixed at 15/- per acre for five years, thereafter increasing 1/- per annum until
it reached 29/- per acre; they shared, according to their rent, in the Callanish common
pasture. But forty years later one of these crofts had been divided into three, another
into two, and two new ones had been carved out of the common; the total rental had risen
to £13:19/-. Again, when Breanish was lotted in the spring of 1850, ten new lots were
marked out and the rental is annotated "there are ten young men starting ... these lots
as soon as the season commences". This appears to have been too optimistic; few, if
any, of the new lots were ever broken in.

The farms, by contrast, prospered and the proprietor was able to share that prosperity by increasing rents as shown in the table:

TABLE 6

195
427

Farm:	Rental in the period: 1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's
Mealasta	£90	£105	£105	£130
Ardroil	£100	£105	£187	£255
Carnish	(£75: crofters)	£55		
Timsgarry	£78	£84	£88	£108
Linnshader	£250	£297	£400	£425

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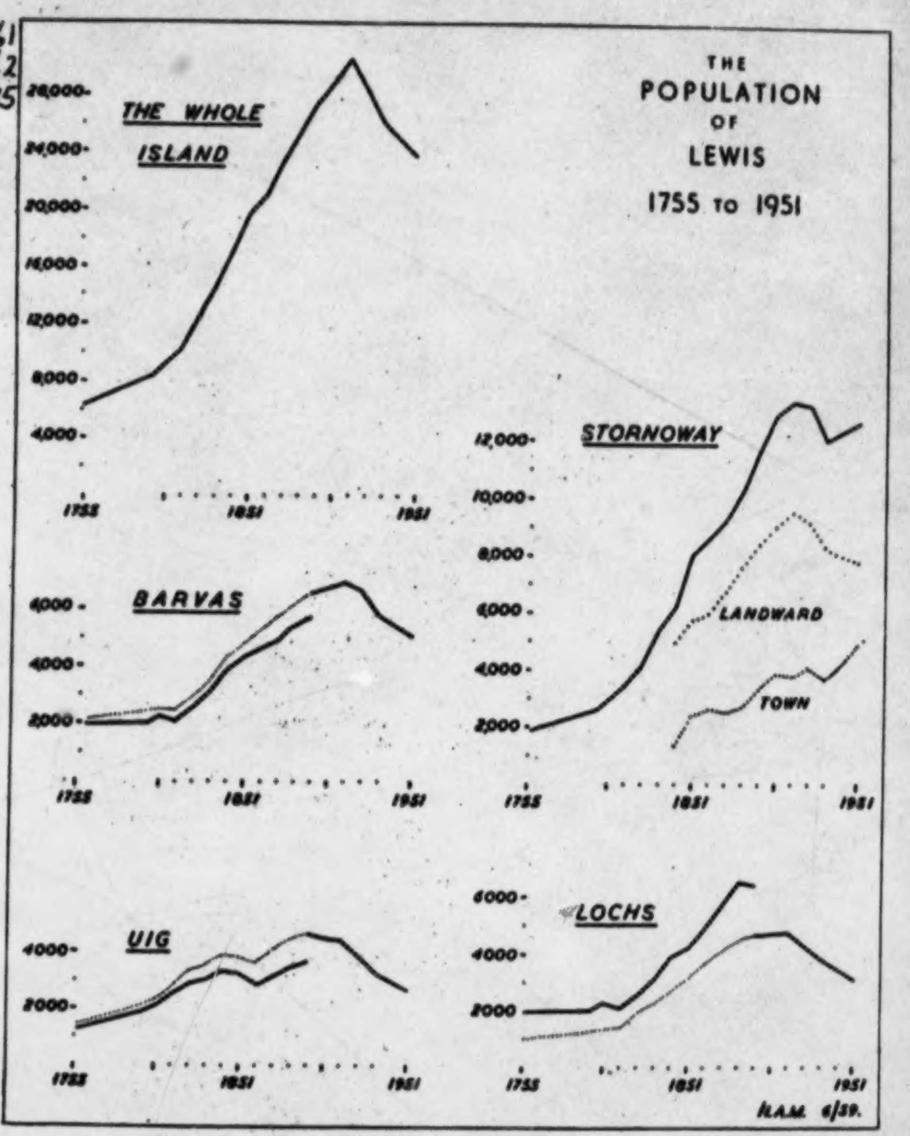

Figure 8.

175 It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Carnish was
427 £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the
latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been
taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By
the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only
15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

175 Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships
427 which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers.
511 The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep
a crofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of
175 support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this.
226 Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east
464 coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young
[166] men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk,
who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway
[221] for the purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between
seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for
white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the
[511] Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in
Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the
people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this
"condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their
crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

175 The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less
427 favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and
[166] farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the
[226] particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the
[241] relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in
175 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters
668 resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by
the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane behaviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peacefully. But land agitation continued.

175 The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the
427 old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being
let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings
were formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging
from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The
grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having
been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lundale,
also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of
Crowlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms,
but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off
Linshader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

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*Report---on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lews. (C. 5265), 1888, p. 4.

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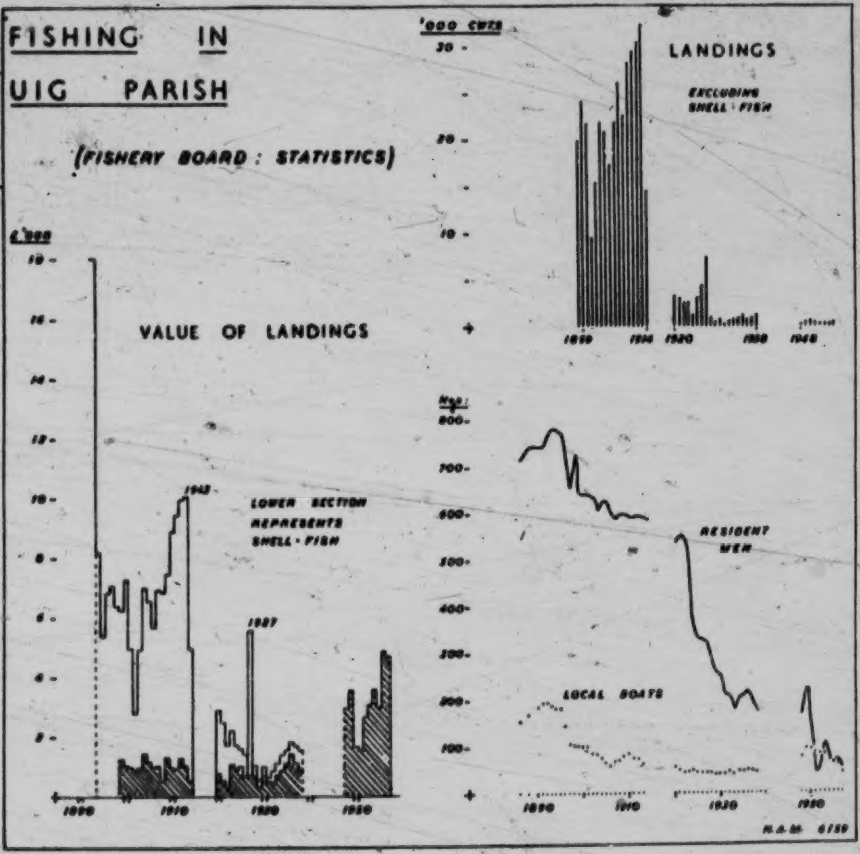

Figure 9.

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427 Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to made some concessions to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of falling agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when some farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c. 1875/80	Rental at c. 1885/90	
Mealasta	£130	£85	
Mangersta	£132	£95	
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245	
Timsgarry	£108	£80	(1)
Linshader	£349	£278	(2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) £22 reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

175
226 The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing
[161] declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1910
Breanish and Islivig had 14 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the official
[162] tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost
ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away
[231] from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and
sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this that
288 commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As
175 early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Districts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sent
out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in any
[653] one tweed. The C. D. B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works".
Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing,
but it came too late.

175 The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its
disposal to aid the crofting townships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Carloway
653 Road (or Pentland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive proposal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could
enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to
Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimum
175 delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more
effective C. D. B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm,
157 the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up.
427 Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new
settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C. D. B. paid £566 in grants
[241] to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. About
the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substantial
enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, smallholding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose
experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10.
Uig

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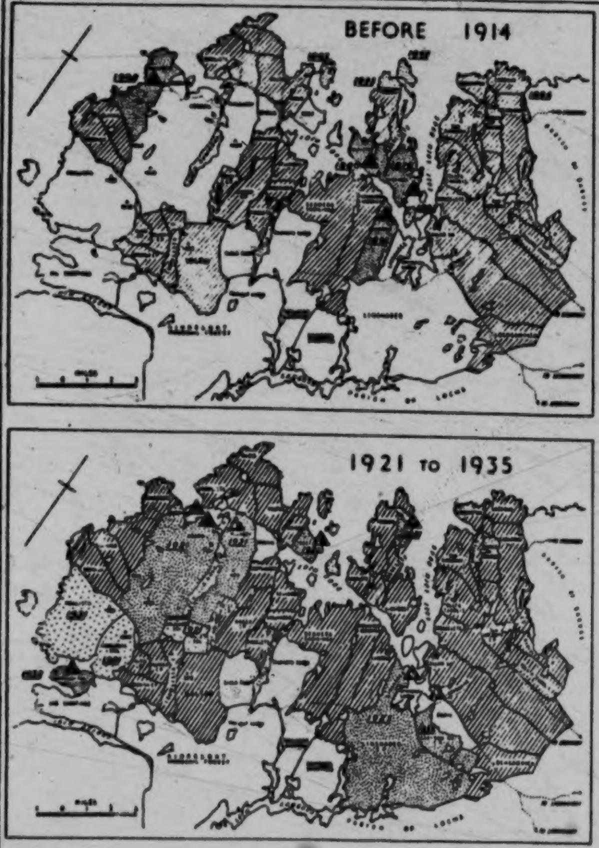
/p. 22/


BEFORE 1914
1921 to 1935

THE RESETTLEMENT OF UIG 1878 to 1935

NEW TOWNSHIPS
ENLARGEMENTS
EXISTING CROFTER HOLDINGS

Figure 10

N.A.M. 6/59.

103
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632

TABLE 8

THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF UIG, ISLE OF LEWIS

(See also Fig. [illegible]).

This table may not be complete for the earlier years; acreages are approximate

Date:	Farm:	Township	New Holdings	Holdings enlarged	Area (Acres)
1878	Linshader	Kirkibost	26(1)	-	c.1,300
1880	Hacklete	Hacklete	20	-	c.1,000
1886 (?)	Linshader	Borroston	-	-	500
1886	Dalemore	Carloway	-	-	60
1891	Linshader	Lundale	6	-	1,156
1892	Linshader	Kirkibost	-	26	1,000
1893	Linshader	Hacklet & Breaclet	-	32	314
		Valtos	-	30	c.300
1910	Mangersta	Mangersta	13	-	2,250
1912	Dalemore	Garenin	-	27	c.700
1921	Reef	Reef	15	-	1,254
		Aird & Reef	-	10	206
		Crowlista & Kneep	-	43	105
		Garyshader	-	13	88
1921	Timsgarry	Timsgarry	8	-	4,113 (2)
		Enaclete	-	9	621
		Geshader	-	11	} 603 (3)
		Ungshader	-	4	}
1921	Croir	Croir	8	-	522
1921	Carnish & Ardroil	Carnish	6	-	288
		Ardroil	14	-	797
		Carnish & Ardroil common grazing			7.153
1921	Mealasta	Mangersta	-	10	1,866
		Brenish	-	29	4,116
1921	Dalemore	Garenin	-	27	c.300
1925	Linshader	Linshader	10	-	11,109
1932	Uig Lodge	Ard Bheag	2	-	809
1935	Garynahine	Garynahine	12	-	1,915
			140	245	about 45,000

Notes:
(1) Crofters were moved to Kirkibost from Bosta (425 acres), which was given as an enlargement to Tobson crofters.
(2) Partly off Timsgarry.
(3) Partly off Carnish and Ardroil.

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TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of the Parish of Uig, 1958

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agricultural holdings (on Valuation Roll) Crofts:	Others:	Crofter-tenants Total	(of whom) non-residents	Agricultural holdings without crofter status**
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51	1	42	(12)	-
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62	-	55	(9)	-
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74	-	68	(14)	1
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38	-	39	(4)	1
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91	4	88	(12)	8
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26	1	26	(2)	2
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183	1	178	(26)	6
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174	7	167	(23)	35
Individual holdings * (non - crofting)		161	1,200	-	9	-		9
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999	23	663	(102)	62

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those not using the common pastures; the 'common' pasture' figure is their rough grazing.

**These include individual holdings, as defined, and all cottars, squatters, feuars and allotment holders having more than a quarter acre of cultivation or a cow or 5 sheep. Their holdings are included in 'Inbye'.

195 After the first World War re-settlement schemes went ahead with renewed vigour.
311 Men serving in the Forces expected land to be available for them on their return and they
427 were impatient to get it. By this time the Lewis estate belonged to the Lewis and Harris
657 Development Co. - in other words to Lord Leverhulme. The farms of Mealasta, Reef,
[471] Carnish and Ardroil were all without tenants; Leverhulme agreed to break them into
crofts, the Board of Agriculture surveyors were speedily put to work, and the new settlers were able to commence cultivation on March 1, 1921. Timsgarry farm, with which was the Uig shooting lodge, was in the hands of a tenant; but the Board obtained possession, reserving a small area around the lodge for amenity. Croir farm, Bernera, was also broken up. More than 50 new holdings received enlargements to their common pastures; details are given in Figure 10 and table 8, (pages 22 and 23). The schemes were done in haste, the Secretary for Scotland pushed them forward in the face of some opposition from Leverhulme. Here, as elsewhere, the ex-servicemen were restive; land raids and violence, with inevitable political repercussion, were feared.

In 1924, Linshader farm was threatened by land raiders. As a result this, too, was broken up and 10 new holdings were occupied as from Whitsuntide, 1925. This was part of the Grimersta sporting estate and the proprietors required that all the ghillies be given crofts. Linshader was not particularly suited to crofter-management: it consisted of 49 acres of old arable land and more than 8.000 acres of rough pasture, the furthest part of which was five miles distant and without road access. When the Land Court fixed the souming the following remark was recorded:

"Under a club stock" (i.e. a single flock) the moor "might have been exploited to a very different extent, but in view of the fact that individual stocks are to be kept" (i.e. each crofter his own shepherd) "which is not conducive to hefting, ... 30 sheep per share will be ample. If the whole outside ground were being fully made use of by the sheep stock the grazing of ten cows should do no harm .... but the wintering afforded on the holdings does not justify a larger souming" (than one cow). It had, in fact, been the practise at Linshader farm to buy in young cattle for summer grazing, and to send away the lambs to the Dingwall area for their first winter.

Finally, in the thirties, two long established cottar families at Aird Bheag an isolated spot on the Uig shootings, applied for and obtained recognition as crofters. Their holdings have since been abandoned and now form part of the sheep farm operated by a syndicate of four Breanish and Islivig crofters. Finally, in 1935 a further 12 new holdings were formed by a partial break-up of Garynahine farm. Thus in all, 140 new crofts and 45,000 acres
[161] have been added to the crofter holdings of Uig since 1878. During that period the population of the parish has declined from 4,500 to 2,700. Neither the formation of new crofts,
[162] nor the enlargement the old, has prevented depopulation. Little, if any, more land is available and depopulation continues. The only hope, now, is to make the existing land - individual holdings and commons alike - more productive.

Table 8 and the map, figure 10, illustrate the progress of resettlement.

Crofts and Crofters.

491 The parish of Uig is now mainly owned by five small limited companies: Uig Crofters,
Bernera Crofters, Grimersta Estate, Carloway Estate, and Lewis Island Crofters. In
427 addition, when Lord Leverhulme sold the Lewis estate a few crofters accepted their
311 holdings as free gifts; consequently they lost legal crofter status (which is confined to tenants) although they continue to share in their respective townships. More recently four crofters in the south purchased some 2,000 acres of rough sheep grazings, including the now defunct settlement of Ard Bheag. There is no official record of the extent of crofters' land, but we accounted for some 95,000 acres (table 9). The remainder con-

491 311 427 sists of the sporting estates of Grimersta, Scaliscro, Moregail and Uig Lodge, on some of which a few cattle and sheep may be grazed, and a few small farms.

632 311 427 [162] There are 37 crofting townships. In area they extend from 9,000 acres (Linshader) to about 500 acres (Croir, excluding de facto shares in Bernera Shielings). The number of crofter tenants ranged from 4 in Ungshadir and Earshadir to 61 in Breasclete, and the average amount of land available to each crofter is 7.2 acres of inbye and 126 acres of common pasture (table 10). Averages are misleading. As the table shows, between districts the amount of land available per crofter varies from about 50 to 500 acres; as between townships the range is even wider (table 11). To some extent this contrast is the result of resettlement schemes which, in general, attempted to provide new holdings sufficient to yield a family living. The extent to which they were successful in this respect was limited by political pressure, especially in the 1920's, to provide the maximum number of holdings. Nevertheless the re-settled holdings have twice the average areas of both inbye and common pasture (13.3 against 7.2 acres, and 225 against 126 acres, respectively).

TABLE 10

Average acreage of land available for each holding and working unit.

241 233 311 427

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	INBYE LAND:		COMMON PASTURES:		NUMBER OF:	
	Hold-ing	Working unit	Hold-ing	Work-ing unit	Hold-ings	Work-ing units
Atlantic Coast	4.7	8.8	285	529	51	28
Uig Bay	10.1	14.8	255	367	62	43
Valtos-Reef	5.4	7.8	118	171	74	51
Little Loch Roag	7.0	7.6	116	126	38	35
Bernera Island	12.8	13.8	86	93	91	84
Bernera Shore	13.3	13.3	484	484	26	26
East Loch Roag	6.0	8.1	85	114	183	136
Loch Carloway	4.7	5.3	52	58	174	155
Non-crofting holdings	17.9	17.9	-	-	23	22
	7.2	9.0	126	157	699	580

NOTE: The distinction between "holdings" and "working units" is explained in the text.

427 632 311 Even amongst the old-established townships there is a tremendous range in amount of land available per tenant, the southern districts being best placed and those in the north worst, a situation which still remains. Indeed, the contrast in land available as between tenants (table 11) is a fundamental one; surprisingly, it is not on the whole reflected by a corresponding contrast in stock carried. Together with the rarity of effective fences between or within township pastures, the impossibility of properly hefting sheep to the hills when each crofter keeps his own little pack, and the excessive sheep/cattle ratio, this gives rise to serious problems which will be examined in Part III.

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

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INBYE LAND Acres:	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:	COMMON PASTURES Acres:	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
	(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

361
632 In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common: all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls and tups when out of season. [171] The management of all these common pastures is controlled by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock management - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected.

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427
656 The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the old practice persists of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming). Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certain limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

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[113] * New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

/p. 28/

162
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561
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TABLE 12

Crofter-Tenants by Status and Size of Holding

	Area of croft (inbye):			All
	0-5 acres	5-10 acres	10-50 acres	Crofts
MALES UNDER 65	39%	46%	45%	43% (267)
of whom with:				
Regular employment	26%	28%	26%	27%(170)
Casual employment	7%	8%	14%	9%(55)
No other employment	6%	10%	5%	7% (46)
MALES OVER 65	23%	27%	35%	26%(167)
FEMALES UNDER 65	8%	5%	7%	7%(43)
FEMALES OVER 65	10%	7%	4%	8%(49)
ABSENT: Males	14%	12%	6%	12% (75)
Females	5%	1%	3%	4%(24)
ALL TENANTS	100% (314)	100%(201)	100% (114)	100% (629)

Owing to rounding totals may not add.

233 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be
427 changed, too.

656 This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the soum
[175] per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886) rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nineteenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would be in full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

241 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring
233 fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to
417 November. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the
[178] 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not
[189] necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850 lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or four communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This is seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

562 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table12) provides
427 several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than
463 one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

162 427 463 of crofts in other districts, despite the legal requirement that a tenant shall reside within two miles of his croft. Thus half the crofts in the parish are tenated by persons who cannot be expected to make the best use of them. This implies no criticism of the people concerned, it is a criticism of the system. Of 314 resident tenants under 65 years of age, 43 are women; of the men, 170 have regular employment including fishing or weaving, 55 take casual or seasonal work as and when they can get it. Only 46, or 7% of all tenants, are "full-time crofters" and, in fact, most of these are either invalids, disabled, or over 60 years of age. Thus in Uig, unlike the southern Outer Hebrides, most crofts are at best a spare time occupation, at worst merely a house site carying special privileges. The table also demonstrates that the size of crofts has little bearing on occupational status; this is inevitable in a rigid system under which a man has no control of varying the size of his holding according to his needs. Some young tenants inherit crofts far too small for their family needs, whilst many elderly tenants, and women, have crofts which are too large for them to maintain.

241 427 It is not surprising, then, that many tenants do not wish, or are not able, properly to cultivate or stock their crofts. A few, however, are particularly interested in agricultural production as a means of livelihood. Some of these have acquired extra crofts, and so built up much larger units. This may be done by acquiring tenancies either in the crofter's own name or that of his wife or a close relative, or by sub-letting. About 30 crofters in Uig are tenants of more than one holding, at least 20 work holdings held in the name of close relatives, and at least 120 have sub-let holdings. These figures are certainly too low: sub-letting without the consent of the proprietor or Crofters Commission is illegal. Nevertheless it is common, and it is generally unsatisfactory because the sub-tenant has no security of tenure and no right to compensation for improvements; consequently sub-let crofts are often neglected and sometimes over-grazed as well. Controlled sub-letting, for a stated minimum period and with the right to compensation, would regularise a well established practice and encourage the formation of larger units, better able to support a family.

A converse of sub-letting is unofficial sub-division. There are a few cases of cottars - usually relatives living in a second dwelling house on the croft - sharing the croft with the tenant; but this formerly widespread practice has all but disappeared. Such de facto "crofters" share the common grazings, as do "squatters" - persons with houses on the
162 common land - who keep stock. Thus neither the number of crofter-holdings on the rental
241 (699), nor that of crofter-tenants (663), is any guide to the effective number of potential agricultural units. Of the crofter-tenants, 100 are absent and some of those who are
427 resident sub-let their crofts. After making these allowances the number of de facto holdings becomes 518; to these must be added 39 cottars, squatters and others (including a few tenants of council houses) who keep at least a cow or five sheep, and 23 agricultural holdings without crofter status. Thus there are 580 potential agricultural units in Uig.

[233] 241 427 That is not all. Of these 66 have no cattle, and 162 carry less than half their soum, of which 22 have no stock at all. Little more than 400 holdings can reasonably be said to be agriculturally effective. This is an indictment, not of the crofters, but of the agricultural structure of the system. This neither provides viable holdings nor does it enable those who wish to acquire enough land to be agriculturalists to get it, even though much land lies unused or ill-used. In short, the system is too rigid. In consequence, de-population goes on apace whilst potential resources are neglected. Three-quarters of a century of legislation and financial aid have, in the main, encouraged the development of crofts as homes for the elderly and as hobbies for those in other employment. Very reasonably, many crofters complain. But very few realise-or are willing to admit - that the security of tenure and other privileges won in 1886, if too rigidly maintained, may ultimately bring about the decay of the very communities which they were intended to protect.

PART II

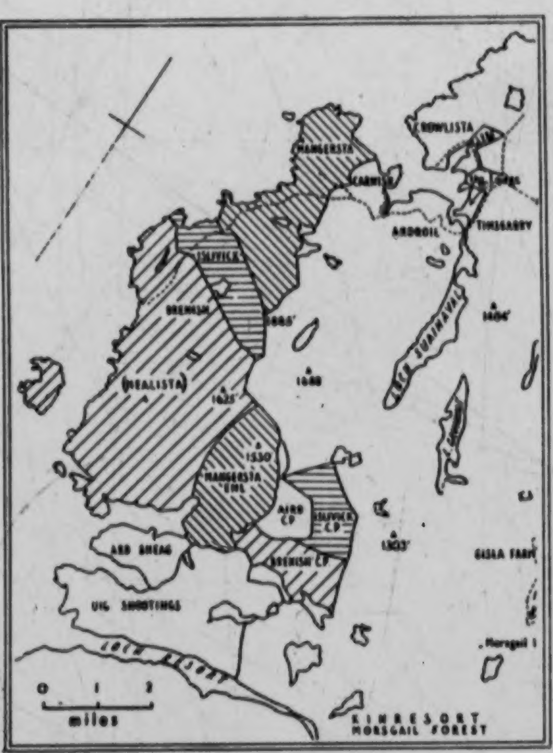
Chapter			Page
IV	THE ATLANTIC COAST - Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta	Pamela Gough	32
V	THE UIG BAY DISTRICT - Carnish, Ardroil, Timsgarry and Crowlista	Elizabeth Blowers	35
VI	AIRD	Madge Philips	39
VII	VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF	David G. Symes	41
VIII	LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT - Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla	Annie Heawood	48

STATISTICAL APPENDICES TO PART II

A - Agricultural statistics. 51

B - Population statistics. 55

102
311
632


MANGERSTA
CARNISH
CROWLISTA
ARDROIL
TIMSGARRY
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BRENISH
885'
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ARD BHEAG
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UIG SHOOTINGS
LOCH RESORT
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miles
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Figure 11.

THE
ATLANTIC COAST
DISTRICT

C.P : detached common pasture (shielings).

ENL. : enlargement to common pasture

Table 13

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	COMMON PASTURES: Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: others:	CROFTER TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Ard Bheag	-	-	c.2,000	-	1	(4)
Brenish	140	5,893	940	28	-	22
Isliviq	51	1,342	620	10	-	7
Mangersta	55	2,197	1,850	13	-	13
	246	9,432	5,410	51	1	42

/facing p. 32/

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevation of the crofts decreases seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

134 Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 100 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unneccessary on the latter.

137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the Mealasta area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calceole plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

361 [172] Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 632 311 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

491 [494] Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by a footpath over the sands to the south. [366 208 453] General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 427 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being somewhat more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

134 401 [231] As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hoggs, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hoggs are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save theirown. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay, to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried, the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

[236 435] Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

/facing p. 34/

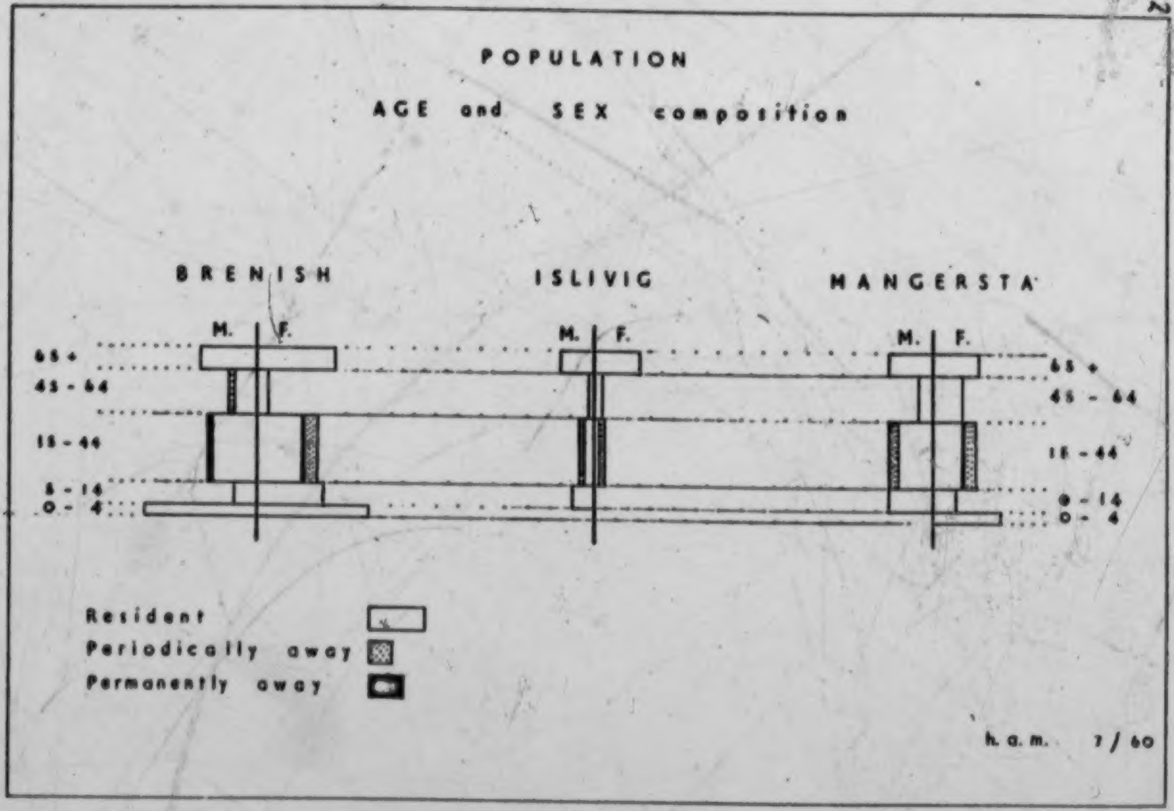

Figure 12

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' sheilings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig sheilings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm,until about 1939, sheilings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
501 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy;
464 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside
434 the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R. A. F. station and at least
467 one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns at tractor which he hires
493 out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

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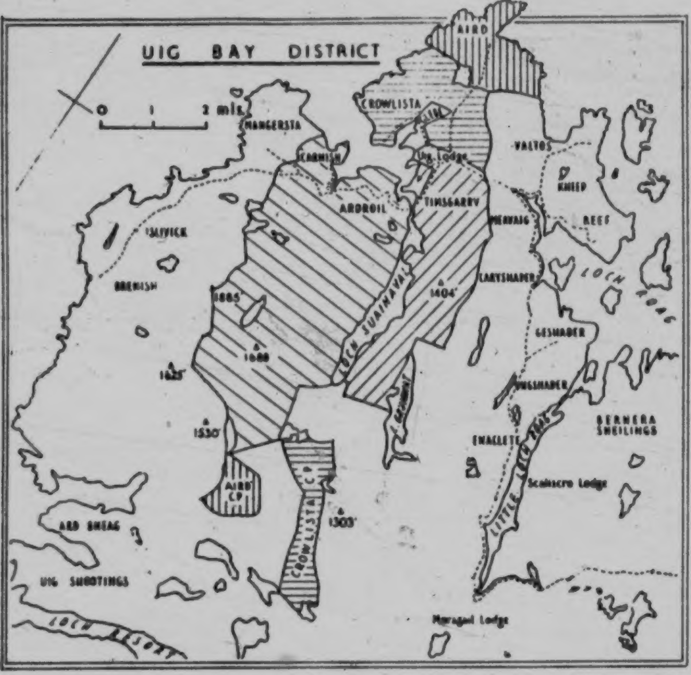
UIG BAY DISTRICT
0 1 2 mls
AIRD
CROWLISTA
MANGERSTA
CARNISH
Uig Lodge
VALTOS
KNEEP
REEF
ARDROIL
TIMSGARRY
MIAVAIG
ISLIVICK
BRENISH
CARISHADER
LOCH ROAG
1885'
1404'
LOCH SUAINAVAL
GESHADER
1688'
1625'
ENACLETE
BERNERA SHEILINGS
1530'
AIRD CP
CROWLISTA CP
Scaliscro Lodge
1303'
LITTLE LOCH ROAG
ARD BHEAG
UIG SHOOTINGS
Morsgail Lodge
LOCH RESORT

Figure 13

Table 14

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TOWNSHIP farm etc	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: adjacent:	COMMON PASTURES: detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Carnish	67	177 44(M)	6,708	6	-	5
Ardroil	338	320 131(M)		14	-	5
Timsgarry	81	3,297	-	8	-	8
Crowlista**	101	1,840 240(G)	1,352*	24	-	19
Aird	49	1,163	556*	10	-	9
Non-crofting	8	-	-	-	2	-
	306	7,212	8,616	62	2	55**

NOTES:
M : machair; G : part of Glebe; *shielings;
** of whom nine are absent.

/facing p. 35/

233 no road and access by foot is difficult. To reach the grazings the crofters travel by boat from Mealasta several times a year and stay in one of the two houses at Aird Bheag which, although vacant, is still in repair. These houses were formerly occupied by estate employees who had crofter status.

51 From the above account, it is evident that in this district as in others, a single croft is not sufficient to support a crofter and his family. On an average, each resident crofter has acquired the equivalent of two crofts, and in addition each crofter supplements the meagre income obtained from his croft by some other occupation, e.g. weaving, labouring, or driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UIG BAY DISTRICT

(Carnish, Ardroil, Timsgarry and Crowlista)

by

Elizabeth Blowers.

134 Uig bay, in which low tide reveals several hundred acres of pure white sand, is surrounded by crofting townships. There are no extensive machair plains but the shell-sand forms a fringe of easily cultivated, lime-rich soils on all sides except Crowlista, and, blown inland by the Atlantic winds, it modifies and improves the texture and acidity of the
361 peaty soil as much as 2,000 yards from the shore. It is not to be wondered at then, that
[175] this bay at one time formed one of the most important centres of population in Lewis. Signs of ancient cultivation, and the ruins of old clachans, are widespread, but most of the present settlements are less than forty years old: almost the whole area was cleared to make farms in the early nineteenth century. Only in Crowlista, with its thin, rocky, arable land and almost complete absence of machair, were the small tenants left undisturbed.
[121] Consequently the district provides an opportunity to compare "old" and "new" townships, both as to lay-out and operation.

133 Carnish, in the south-west, is dominated by a huge gravel ridge - probably an esker, -
361 over a mile long and sloping steeply to the estuary of Amhuinn Chaslabhat with the rocky headland of Machair Carnish to the north. The arable land and houses of Ardroil are situated to the landward side of the hummocky machair land between the esturies of Amhuinn Chaslabhat and the Forsa river which drains Lochs Suainaval and Stacsavat. To the north of the bay the old settlement of Crowlista is situated on the rocky headland to the west of the Rethall embayment; there is a good deal of level land in the centre of the township but the slope to the estuary in the north is steep and rocky outcrops occur on the headland. Timsgarry, to the east of Rethall, stretches inland between the headlands of Tolanish and Borranish along the valley of the Erista river.

134 There is a mantle of gravelly drift over this area; the Carnish esker has been mentioned and exposures of up to 120' were also seen in gravel pits in Ardroil and Timsgarry. Along the coast blown shell sand rests on this drift and reaches inland for up to half a mile.

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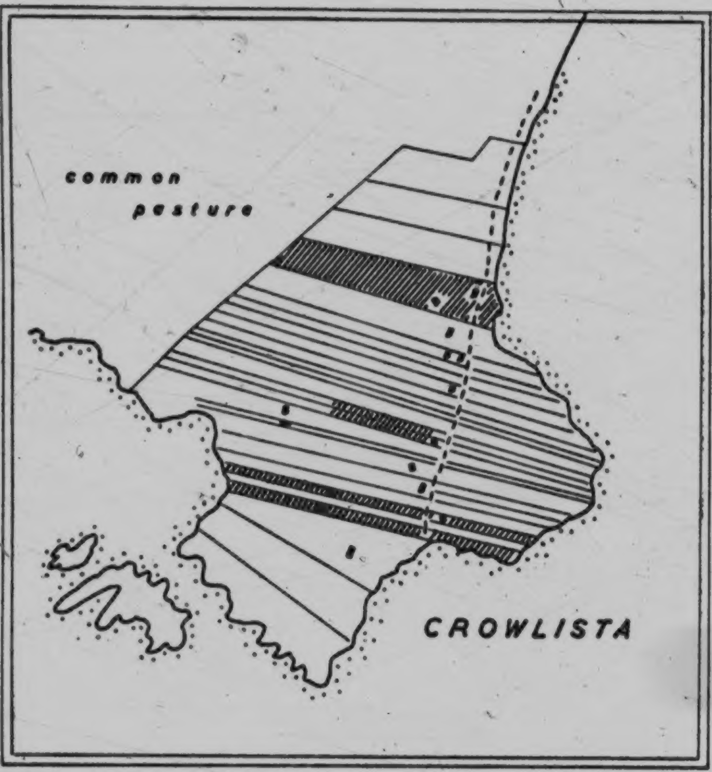
common pasture
CROWLISTA

Figure 14

CROWLISTA :
- lay out of crofts of an 'old' township lotted c. 1850.
- crofts shown hatched are held runrig by pairs of tenants
(Compare Fig. 15)

/facing p. 36/

134 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amnuinn Thoraghair and the Erista river.

131 824 There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for creel making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare so, although individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the townships as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machair is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

311 361 427 In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a lotting about 1850, (Figure 14) In the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five out of twenty-two reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have one or two small plots each on the machair.

133 Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary; from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbers 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising northwards to just over 170'; 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Knock Valabrie. The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

417 In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

316 There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

464 In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of those only one is worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a soum of eight sheep can never have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house point to the importance of fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Sub-letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is held in fixed runrig between b and another croft, not part of this multiple "working" unit; east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

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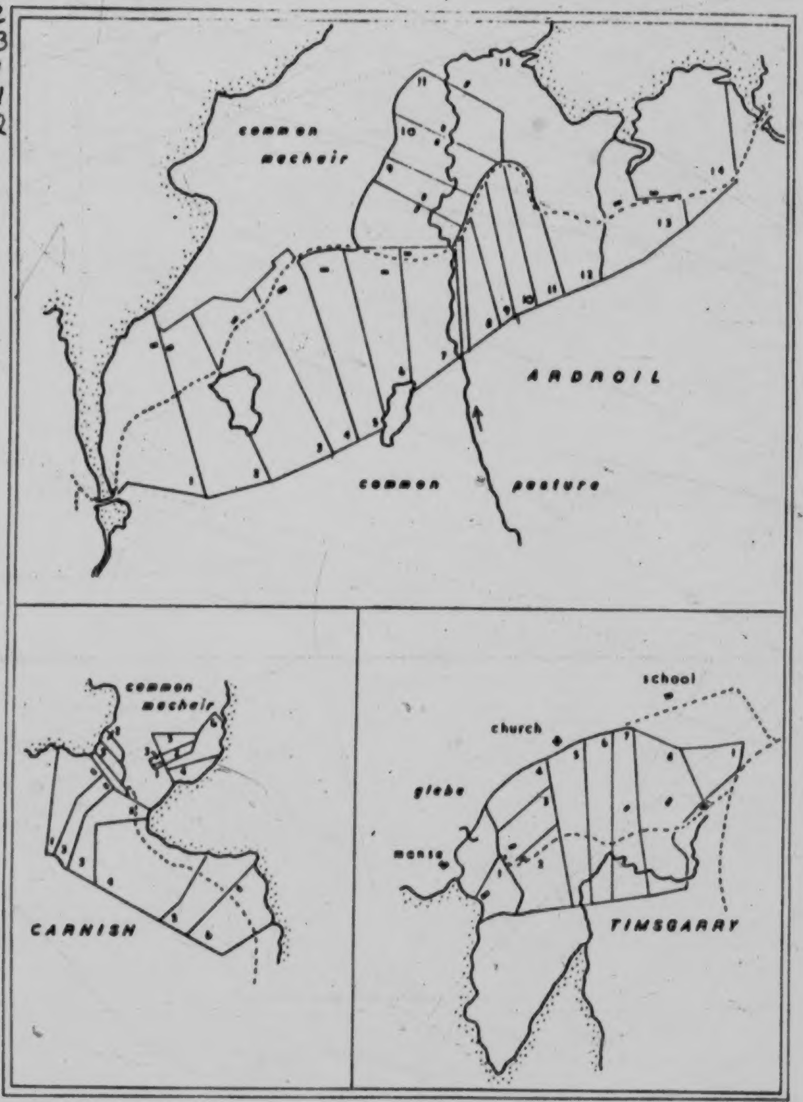
common
machair
ARDROIL
common
pasture
common
machair
CARNISH
school
church
glebe
manse
TIMSGARRY

Figure 15.

ARDROIL CARNISH and TIMSGARRY - lay-out of crofts formed from farms in 1921 Compare fig. 14

/facing p. 37/

361 491 [487] [493] [205] [366] [494] [312] Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor - two wells only are in use.

[366] [205] [453] [493] Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

241 [231] [401] The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 [134] [324] Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

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/facing p. 38/

CALENDAR OF CROFT WORK

	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
Gates					‖ shut ……	……	……	……	……	……	…… ‖	open
Oats				ploughing / sowing	……	……	……	……	harvest ……			
Potatoes				planting earlies / main crop	……	……	……	lifting earlies / main crop	……			
Hay							……	……	……			
Peats					cutting ……	drying ……		carting ……				
Cattle				…… main	calving		period ……	……	……			
Sheep				lambing ①		shearing wedders / ewes		②	③		④	⑤

① Hoggs removed from machair
② Lambs weaned
③ Dipping

④ Tupping
⑤ Rams to common pasture

Figure 16

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Weddera are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hoggs but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole [427] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hoggs on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hoggs [232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hoggs that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked. [235] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 175 [361] Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment. 228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 [316] [712] [377] [466] Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present. The Aird R. A. F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric shceme site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

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* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

[1] [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

/facing p. 39/

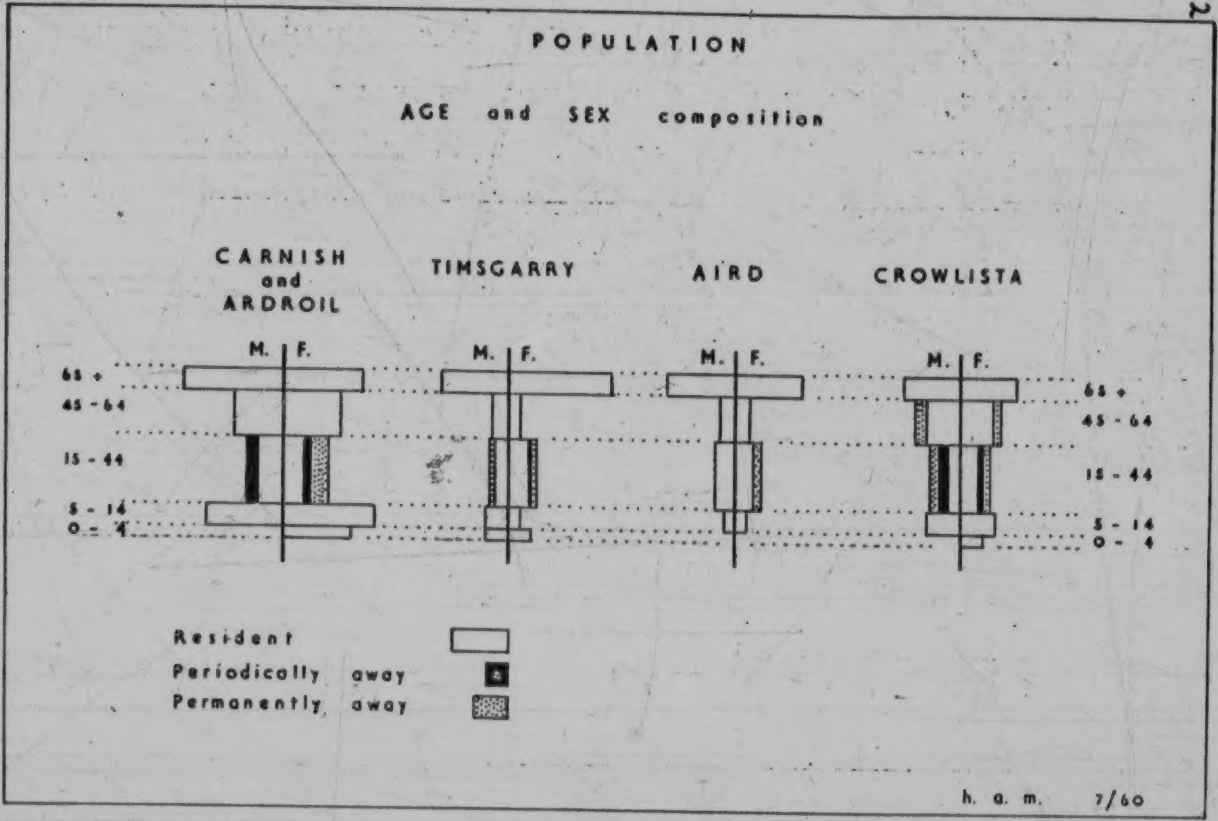

Figure 17

484 As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many
houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in
485 these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtain-
[497] ing varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on
a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has
good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities
of tourism.

162 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing
population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The
166 diagrams[1] illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the
464 numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suit-
able work, for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also
illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 34% are over sixty-
five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of
the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding
figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

241 We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young
231 tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked
427 profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always
[517] sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they
[887] might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is
increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of
the family - and as a place for retirement.

000 It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

131 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along
the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles
133 north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a
gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow
427 flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in
arrangement and varying in size from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow
133 strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up
the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes
between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

[1] [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)--Analyst]

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across 231 the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird 654 lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R. A. F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

361 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road 497 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N. A. A. F. I. 443 within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below 205 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than 342 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for 354 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have 312 modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an 311 elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so 491 that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse. 407 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a 252 tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was cultivated; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was 824 extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that 231 there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females. Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as 166 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

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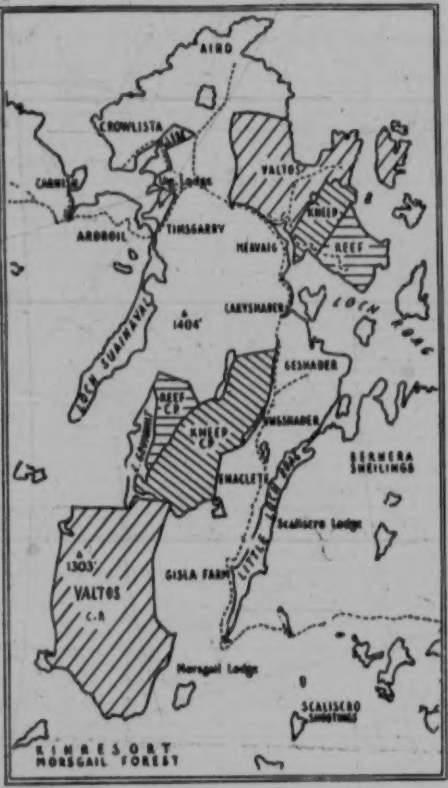
AIRD
CROWLISTA
CARNISH
Uig Lodge
ARDROIL
TIMSGARRY
VALTOS
KNEEP
REEF
MEVAIG
CARISHADER
LOCH ROAG
LOCH SUAINAVAL
1404'
GESHADER
REEF C.P.
KNEEP C.P.
UNGSHADER
ENACLETE
BERNERA SHEILINGS
Scaliscro Lodge
LITTLE LOCH ROAG
1303'
VALTOS C.P.
GISLA FARM
Morsgail Lodge
SCALISCRO SHOOTINGS
KINRESORT
MORSGAIL FOREST

Figure 18

VALTOS
KNEEP
and
REEF.

C.P. : Common pasture

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 15

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER - TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Valtos	149	1,482*	3,905**	40	1	36
Kneep	155	459*	1,806**	19	-	18
Reef	94	207 101(M)	770	15	-	14
	398	2,249	6,481	74	1	68***

NOTES: * including some machair; ** shielings; M machair; *** Of whom 14 absent.

/facing p. 41/

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
469 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a
288 civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the
178 rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and
if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of
other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an
adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and several
smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and
Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and
steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the
east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes
(c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The
machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in
addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair
sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin
soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula
faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded
by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
429 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures.
361 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting
632 carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and
Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean
were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of stripe persists, but

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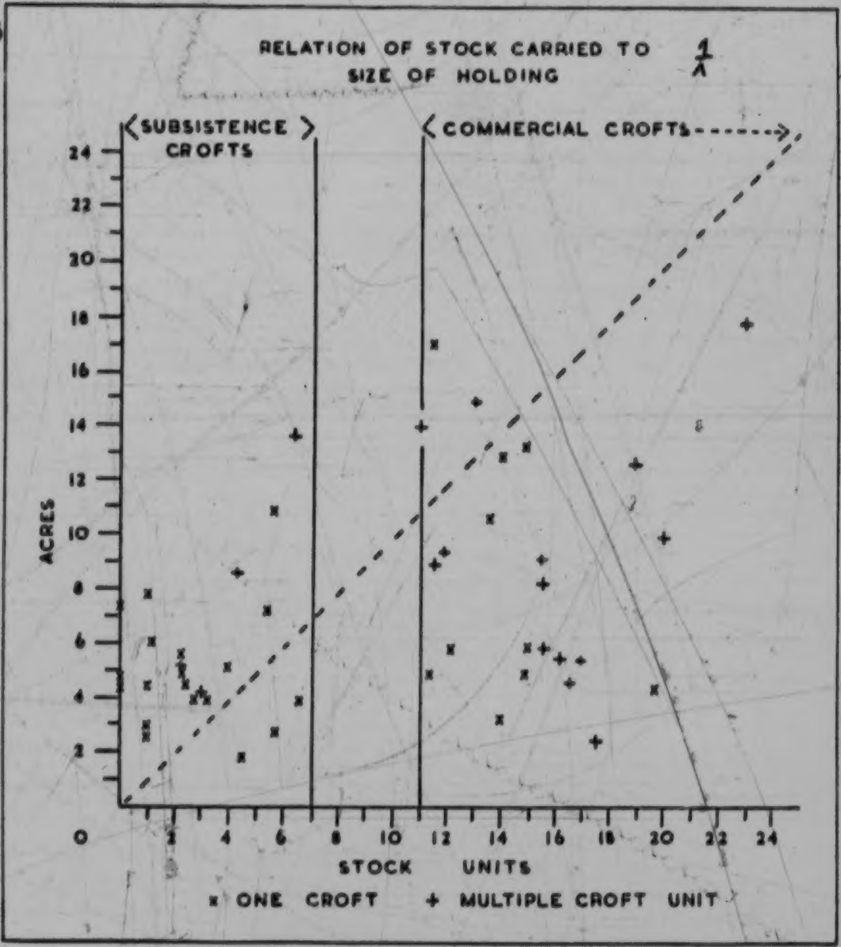

Figure 19
/facing p. 42/

1. [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

195 the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundred
311 and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provide
27 land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarted
[228 by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish
[501 industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for one
[464 hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty
fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity
of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in
1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period.
Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters
and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on
the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old arable)
and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in
1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the sheep
[233] farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the crofters'
sheep stock in 1959.

427 Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos
178 peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds of
the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their crofts
[162] and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the
crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

427		Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
463	Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
632	No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
	Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
	No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
	Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
	Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
	Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
	Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
	Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
	crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
	crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
	crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

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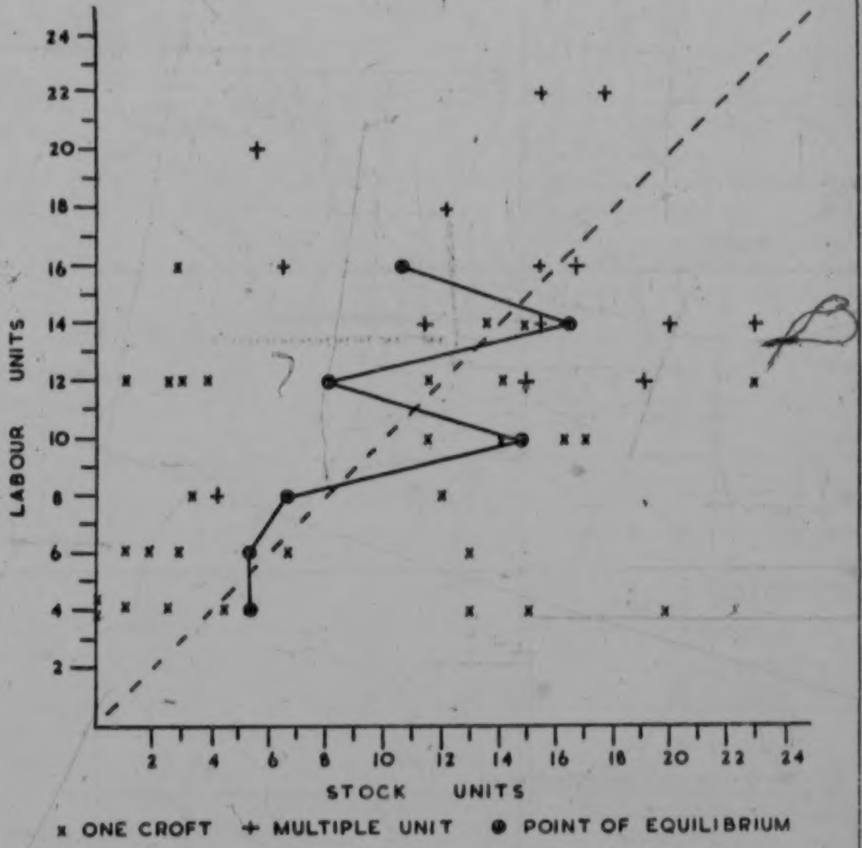
RELATION OF STOCK CARRIED TO LABOUR AVAILABILITY[1]



INDEX LABOUR UNITS
FULL TIME CROFTER UNDER 45 - 16 UNITS
" " " OVER 45 - 14 "
CROFTER WITH REGULAR WORK
UNDER 45 - 12 "
" OVER 45 - 10 "
CROFTER WITH IRREGULAR WORK
UNDER 45 - 8 "
" OVER 45 - 6 "
CROFTER OVER 65 - 4 "

Figure 20

/facing p. 43/

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[1] [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

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TABLE 17

Livestock

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
a) No. of crofts with 3 cows	0	1	0	1
" " 2 "	13	2	2	17
" " 1 "	14	7	3	24
" " 0 "	2	5	3	10
" " 50 + sheep	11	6	5	22
" " 1-50 "	15	5	2	22
" " 0 "	3	3	1	7
b) " " 20 + cow units	1	2	0	3
" " 10-20 "	14	4	6	24
" " 1-10 "	14	5	1	20
" " 0 "	0	3	1	4
c) " " oversoumed (total stock)	7/29	9/11	5/7	21/47
" " " sheep	14/29	8/11	7/7	29/47
Sheep soum for township	1038	152	225	
Sheep stock in township	1154	537	410	

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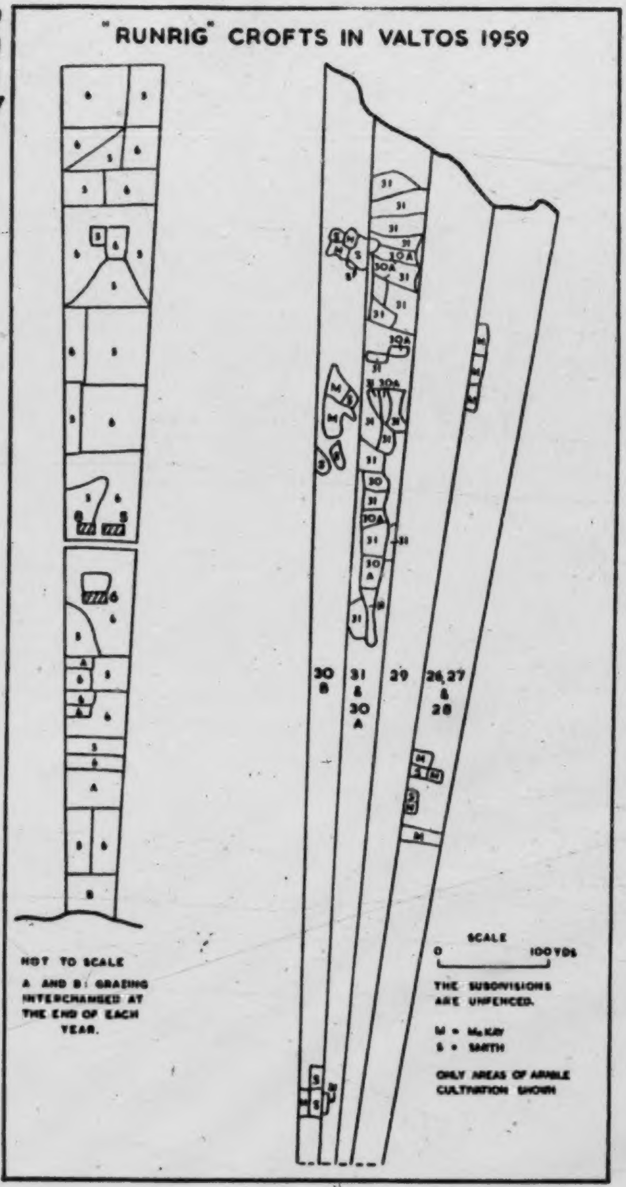
"RUNRIG" CROFTS IN VALTOS 1959
NOT TO SCALE
A AND B: GRAZING INTERCHANGED AT THE END OF EACH YEAR.
SCALE
0
100 YDS
THE SUBDIVISIONS ARE UNFENCED.
M = McKAY
S = SMITH
ONLY AREAS OF ARABLE CULTIVATION SHOWN
30 B
31 & 30 A
29
26, 27 & 28

Figure 21
/facing p. 44/

427 311 231 [241] [246] Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft as a small livestock-economy unit, primarily concerned with the provision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which receives very little attention from the crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active attitude of the crofter towards his land.

[244] In addition, every croft has its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre to provide for family needs, and most crofts (58%) possess a vegetable garden - again for house use.

[433] Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all the year round. Young stock are sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock is replaced very infrequently.

427 233 [434] Where one croft differs from the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only source of money income on the croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies, and there is a considerable difference in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsistence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other. Hence the souming figures, and here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock equal to 111% of the soum and Kneep - 353%!

000 An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

TABLE 18

LAND USE

243 244 246 311 427 231

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef
Average size of holding:			
Old arable	2.5	4.1	11.0
Outrun	2.8	6.2	
Percentage of croftland under:			
cereals	7.5	7.0	6.0
potatoes	2.5	5.0	3.0
Sown grass (hay)	5.5	1.0	5.5
natural hay	3.5	10.0	4.0
natural grazing	75.5	76.0	75.0

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962   ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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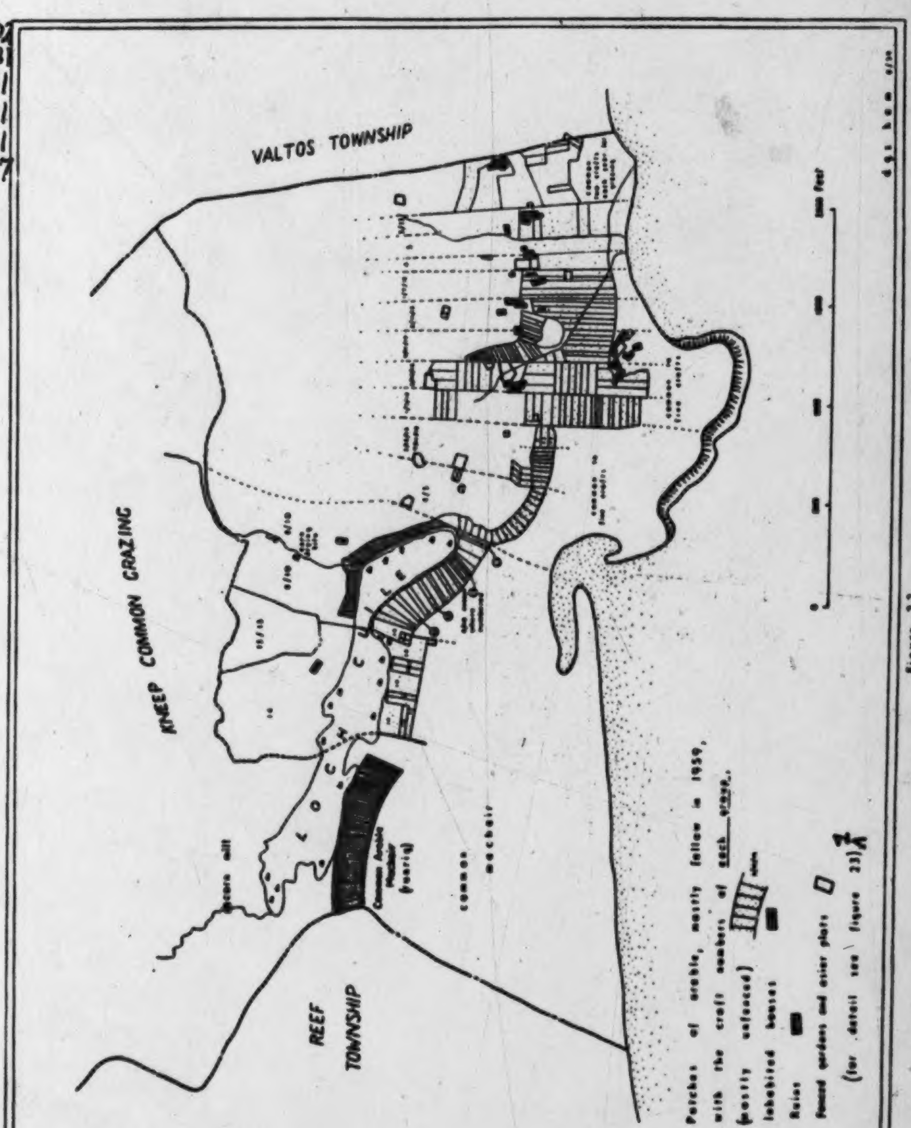
KNEEP COMMON GRAZING
VALTOS TOWNSHIP
REEF TOWNSHIP
LOCH CUILE
Common Arable Machair
common machair
Patches of arable, mostly fallow in 1959, with the croft numbers of each group.
(mostly unfenced)
Inhabited houses
Ruins
Fenced gardens and osier plots
(for detail see figure 23)1
0
Feet

Figure 22

/facing p. 45/
1.[For fig. 23, see "facing p. 48"--Analyst]

An attempt has been made in
Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on
231 the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force.
311 In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units)
464 and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock
471 and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for
certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of
233 crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a
162 larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the
economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a
more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in
[443] the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of
accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

511 In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood
for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the
464 croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

231	**FROM THE CROFT:**	
434	Sale of two year-old calves	£80
236 286	Cow and calf subsidies	£40
	Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
		£ 195[1]
	FROM WEAVING -	
	at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
	GROSS INCOME	£745

434 Weaving about 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft
[262] efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla
hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the
[464] same financial reward.

433 The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several
years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the
178 time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures.
[228] The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due
[231] mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until
1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

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[1] Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

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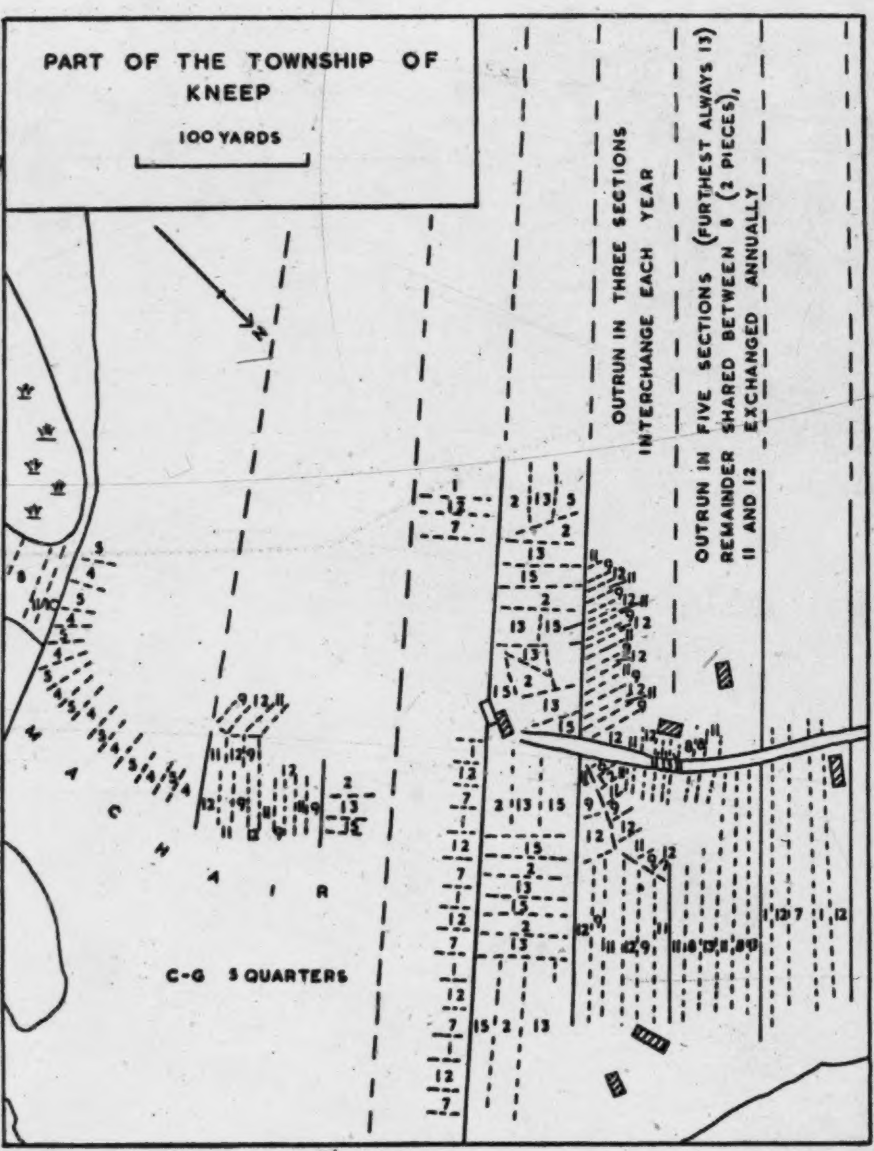
PART OF THE TOWNSHIP OF KNEEP
100 YARDS
N
MACHAIR
C-G QUARTERS
OUTRUN IN THREE SECTIONS
INTERCHANGE EACH YEAR
OUTRUN IN FIVE SECTIONS (FURTHEST ALWAYS 13)
REMAINDER SHARED BETWEEN 8 (2 PIECES),
11 AND 12 EXCHANGED ANNUALLY

Figure 23
/facing p. 46/

241 The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most
crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating
178 small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff
ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the
same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal
applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatch
from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow-
outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the
fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the
1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy
[231] ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to meet
the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore
needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for
potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation
within the croft.

433 Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form
and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two
178 separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow
632 strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundaries
427 of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°,
so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180').
361 Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. 21).
Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, held permanently; the
311 grazings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation
on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fenced
though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivation
[241] only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk
of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the
hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating
the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and
slightly larger (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than
[241] those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the
machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the western
township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two
cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the
peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably
compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts
[433] 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a
climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelve
of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous
crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their
boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and
eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair.
One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres!
[233] The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are
interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

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1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

/facing p. 47/

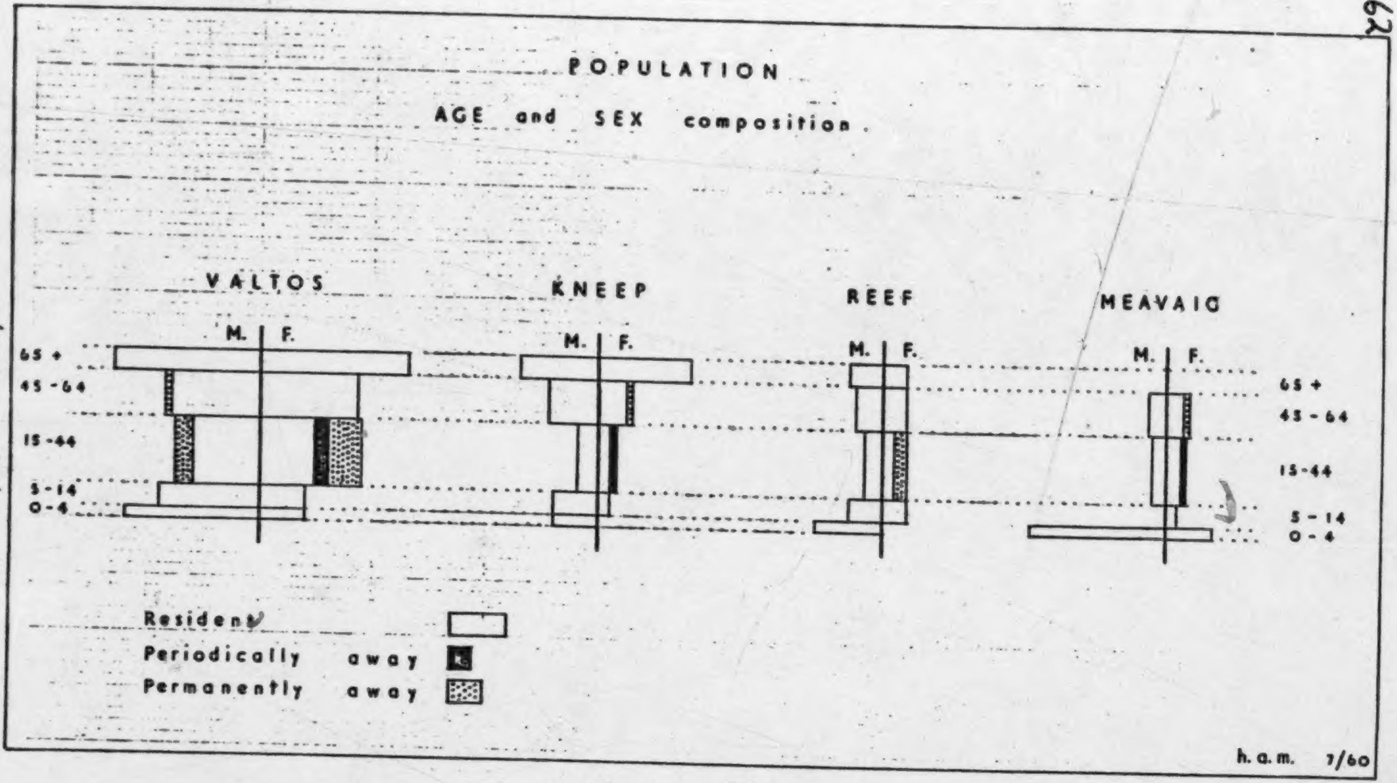

Figure 24

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361 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of
427 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
311 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.
[233]

[133] The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly
developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke
[312] running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been
cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other
parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is
almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the
edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in
1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face
south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from
2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15)
are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size
is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house
[241] is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the
machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse
[407] and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse
plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen
433 crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over
[729] sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today
seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among
the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

[233] Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan
Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

162 Fig: 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells
a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five
years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the
163 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the
consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

131 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years
ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep
20 was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef
was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at
[443] Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are
supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the
local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the
[346] peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos
and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

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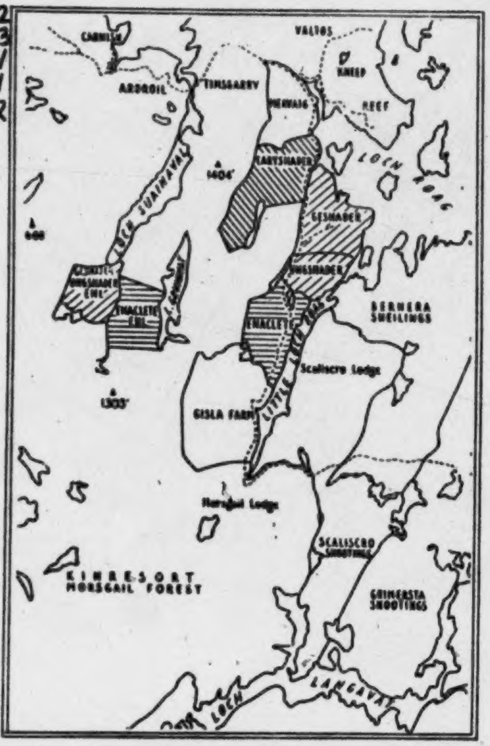
CARNISH
VALTOS
ARDROIL
TIMSGARRY
KNEEP
MEAVAIG
REEF
CARYSHADER
1404'
LOCH ROAG
LOCH SUAINAVAL
GESHADER
UNGSHADER
ENL
ENACLETE ENL
ENACLETE
BERNERA SHEILINGS
Scaliscro Lodge
1303'
GISLA FARM
LITTLE LOCH ROAG
Morsgail Lodge
SCALISCRO SHOOTINGS
KINRESORT MORSGAIL FOREST
GRIMERSTA SHOOTINGS
LOCH LANGAVAT

Figure 25

LITTLE
LOCH ROAG
DISTRICT

ENL.: Enlargement to
common pasture.

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 19

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Caryshader	44	1,260	-	14	1	14
Ungshader	35	435	598	4	-	4
Geshader	114	850		11	-	11
Enaclete	73	662	617	9	-	8
Non-crofting	c.40	800+	-	-	4	-
	306	4,007+	1,215	38	5	37*

NOTES: + also unrecorded areas of grazing on deer forests
* Of whom four are absent.

/facing p. 48/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla).

by

Annis Heawood.

133 [131] [134] Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards about twelve miles inland from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion picking out one of the n.n.e. to s.s.w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisian gneiss. Although generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground moraine, and this material, best preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for several small townships on or near its western shores. The eastern shore is the more rugged and although a few small townships once existed there is now only the small farm and shooting lodge of Scaliscro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Moregail Lodge which is a large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandly isolated about a mile inland from the main road.

361 [632] 365 The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Little Loch Roag, Enaclete, Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag proper. All these are strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, is a small farm but also functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig; it has the post-master, whose other functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two churches, a telephone exchange, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At the time of our visit it was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functions arose in the days before the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the mails were landed until some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and horses for transport to Uig lodge, three miles further west.

361 365 [632] There is no record of the original settlement of the four crofting townships, nor of Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters until about 1850. Some modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier access to the road than the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply does not seem to present a serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering grounds to the west, but there are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, of course, available. Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being served at present by the 'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a week. Enaclete has a sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although vans call regularly, 'buses must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main Stornoway road, where the school serving this district also stands. The track has been extended in recent years so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is smaller and although it has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlement largely due to its inaccessibility.

427 632 311 The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side and fenced except where the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader there are fourteen legal crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used only as a holiday home by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common grazing. In Geshader there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader has four crofts but the

162

/facing p. 49/

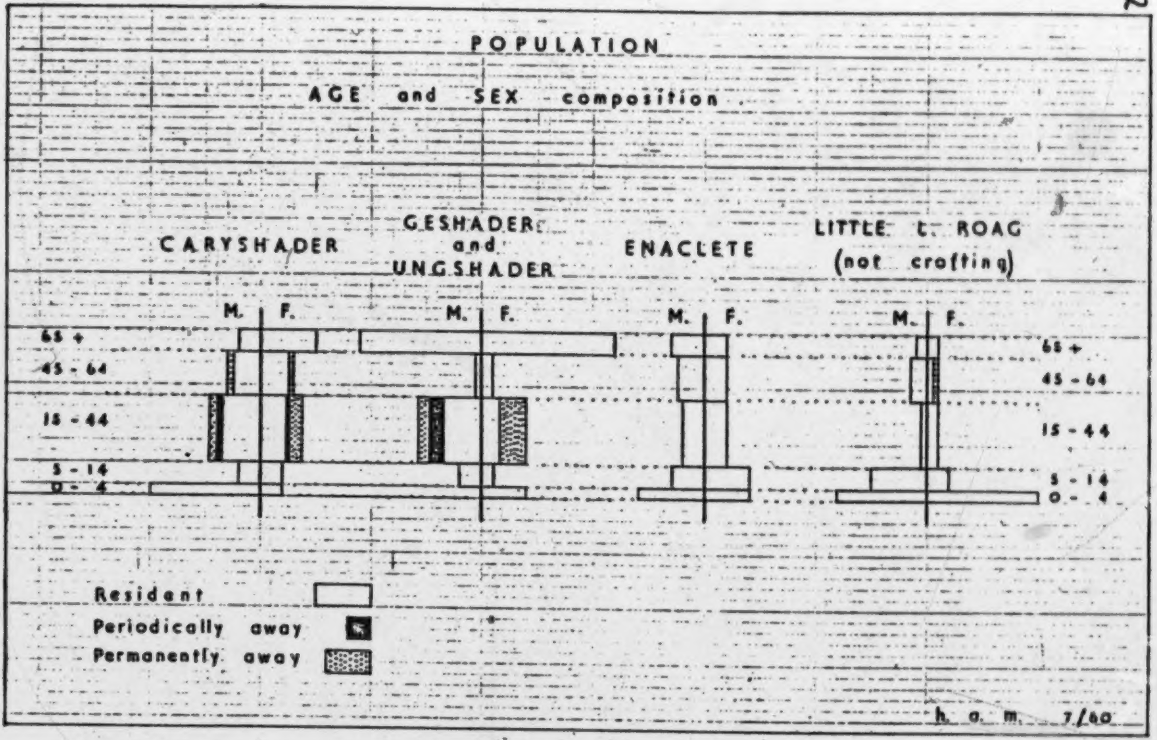

Figure 26

427 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land.
632 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean
311 Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres
[314] on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and
231 more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four
[164] (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends more

000 than anything on transport. Provided it continues to be possible for people to get work and for vans to call they are likely to continue as settlements if not true crofting townships, for many years to come. If not, or if work in the district is no longer available, the fate of Ungshader may yet await the other three.

103
231
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427
423
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APPENDIX A

(1) Agricultural statistics for South Uig - August, 1959.

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture: (acres)	Gardens	CATTLE: Soum:	Milk:	Others:	Calves:	SHEEP: Soum:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Tractors
ARD BHEAG	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	c.500	?	?		
BRENISH	28	-	13	16	4	20	100	11	84	18	15	13	508	703	443	568	4	1
ISLIVIG	10	-	5	7	2	11	30	3	43	6	3	4	228	224	174	105	2	-
MANGERSTA	13	-	10	12	3	17	23	3	68	16	9	13	385	474	334	371	1	-
CARNISH	6	-	3	2	1	4	61	4	26	4	1	4	270	110	89	40	1	-
ARDROIL	14	-	12	7	2	21	321	13	62	15	5	9	625	358	277	171	1	-
TIMSGARRY	8	-	7	5	1	12	63	7	23	8	-	4	275	177	143	108	1	-
MAIRE ETC.	-	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	-	1	-	38	35	5	-	-
AIRD	10	-	8	4	1	9	35	8	34	6	2 (Goats)	1	206	226	193	166	-	-
CROWLISTA	24	-	13	16	7	19	59	6	89	15	3	9	424	487	374	227	-	-
VALTOS	40	1	29	22	7	15	104	19	220	41	1	29	1,033	916	781	524	-	-
KNEEP	19	-	13	11	7	19	118	10	76	14	6	9	455	403	337	247	1	-
REEF	15	-	8	5	2	9	77	7	[illegible]	7	3	9	225	249	202	190	-	-
CARISHADER	14	1	12	6	4	9	24	3	31	8	1 (2 Goats)	4	183	199	176	110	1	-
GESHADER	11	-	11	14	3	16	82	10	38	15	4	11	337	594	442	415	-	-
UNGSHADER	4	-	3	5	1	7	23	3	17	3	1	2	150	130	125	125	-	-
ENACLETE	9	-	9	13	3	13	44	6	31	14	2	12	323	335	247	308	-	-
OTHERS (non-crofting)	-	5	5	3	1	7	54	2	-	7	16 (16 pigs & 2 goats)	12	-	295	210	231	-	1

Notes:

(a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/lambs/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)).

(d) Where there is a specific soum for a horse this has been added, (half to the cattle soum and half to the sheep soum) after allowing for any horses actually present.

(e) Where there is a soum for two-year old cattle this has been included in the cattle soums at the rate of 2 two-year olds to one cow.

APPENDIX A, continued.

233 **(2) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August, 1959**
632

TOWNSHIP:	TOTAL STOCK: as recorded:	TOTAL STOCK: as estimated:	LAMBING: as reported:	STOCKING RATIO: estimated:	STOCKING RATIO: soum:
	(including lambs)			(per 100 acres of common grazing)	
BRENISH	1,714	1,700	63%	25	7
ISLIVIG	503	500	78%	26	11
MANGERSTA	1,179	1,200	70%	30	10
CARNISH & ARDROIL	1,045	1,200	78%	16	12
TIMSGARRY	428	650	81%	20	8
AIRD	585	600	85%	35	12
CROWLISTA	1,088	1,200	77%	35	12
VALTOS	2,221	2,300	86%	43	19
KNEEP	987	1,000	84%	44	20
REEF	641	800	82%	74	21
CARYSHADER	485	500	88%	40	15
UNGSHADER & GESHADER	1,831	1,800	78%	95	26
ENACLETE	890	900	74%	70	26

NOTES: (a) The ratio of estimated sheep stock to each 100 acres of common grazings cannot be compared directly with the soum per 100 acres because the latter takes no account of the lambs of the current season.

(b) Notes (b) and (d) to Appendix A (1) apply to this table also.

APPENDIX A. continued.

162
423
427
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(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, South Uig, August 1959.

Status* of tenants:-		Area of holding: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1+ acres	TOTAL:
Regular employment	M 54[1]	5	17	11	6	1	2	2	44
	M 65	-	1	--	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65	4	10	5	5	3	-	-	27
	M 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full-time crofters	M 65	4	1	5	2	1	-	1	14
	M 65	8	13	13	8	7	5	4	58
	F 65	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	4
	F 65	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	8
Absent M		5	7	8	3	-	-	-	23
Absent F		4	7	-	2	-	-	-	13
TOTAL		31	63	43	27	12	7	10	193

162
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(4) Principal croft workers status by size of effective agricultural unit, South Uig, August 1959

Status* of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres):- 1.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1+	TOTAL:
Regular employment	M 65	2	21	14	11	9	6	4	67
	M 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65		13	7	5	6	-	2	33
	M 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M 65	2	4	1	-	7	2	2	18
	M 65	2	8	8	7	6	5	4	40
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		2	1	1	1	1	-	6
TOTAL		6	48	32	24	29	14	12	165

* Occupation, sex and age (under or over 65 years).

[1] [Errata: See category 116, (introductory p.v), for corrections--Analyst]

APPENDIX A continued

231
241
311
423

(5) Stocking and cultivation by size of effective units, South Uig, August 1959.

Stocking is assessed according to proportion of the soum held, cultivation according to acreage of arable crops, i.e. excluding hay; some units are omitted for lack of data, (consequently totals do not correspond.)

	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units							All sizes	Actual number of units
	1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0		
Proportion of soum held:									
Nil	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	4
Less than 50%	1	8	5	3	3	3	2	26	40
50%-100%	1	6	9	6	5	1	5	32	50
100%-200%	1	8	5	6	6	3	2	31	57
More than 200%	-	4	1	1	2	1	1	8	13
All units	3	28	21	15	16	8	9	100	
Area cropped:									
Less than 0.5 acre	1	5	3	2	1	1	-	13	19
0.5-1.0 acres	1	7	2	-	1	-	-	11	16
1.1-2.5 acres	1	12	13	9	8	1	5	50	74
2.6-5.0 acres	-	5	3	4	2	3	5	22	33
More than 5.0 acres	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	6
All units	3	28	21	16	14	7	11	100	148

Owing to rounding, percentage figures may not equal totals.

162
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(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

	Under 65 years:			Over 65 years:		ALL UNITS *
	Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Male	Female	
CATTLE **						
nil	2	5	2	6	1	16
1	9	31	18	8	3	69
2	5	19	9	4	-	37
3	-	2	2	1	-	5
more than 3	-	-	-	1	-	1
SHEEP						
nil	2	1	2	3	-	8
less than 6	1	-	-	-	-	1
6-10	2	4	2	1	1	10
11-20	1	4	3	2	2	12
21-50	5	21	11	7	1	45
51-100	5	22	10	6	-	43
more than 100	-	5	3	1	-	9

* a few working units are omitted for lack of data.
** over 2 years

Appendix B (I), continued.

	MALES																					FEMALES																		
	RESIDENT									PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANENTLY AWAY						Migration since '39		RESIDENT						Periodically away			PERMANENTLY AWAY								Migration since '39	
						15–64																					15–64													
	0 – 4	5 – 14	15 – 44	45 – 64	65 and over	[illegible]	Crofter with regular employment	Crofter with periodic employment	[illegible]	Students	National Service	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Merchant Navy 15 – 44	Merchant Navy 45 – 64	Professional 15 – 44	Professional 45 – 64	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Emigration	Immigration	0 – 4	5 – 14	15 – 44	45 – 64	65 and over	No employment	Students	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Nursing 15 – 44	Nursing 45 – 64	Professional 15 – 44	Professional 45 – 64	Domestic Service 15 – 44	Domestic Service 45 – 64	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Emigration	Immigration
VALTOS	6	9	18	16	13	3	12	14	5	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	1	-	7	2	2	4	14	17	15	3	4	-	-	5	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	5	3
KNEEP	2	4	6	9	7	1	7	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	3	5	8	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-
REEF	3	3	5	5	3	4	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	2	-	2	3	4	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	6	2
MEAVAIG	6	-	4	3	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	4	2	1	4	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	8	5
Total D	17	16	33	33	23	8	23	23	12	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	1	-	26	8	4	8	24	29	25	6	6	-	-	6	-	-	1	5	1	-	-	23	10
CARYSHADER	5	2	11	5	2	1	7	7	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	7	3	1	2	7	5	5		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	3	1
GESHADER	-	2	9	1	9	2	3	4	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	6	1	2	1	3	-	10		-	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	9	1
UNGSHADER	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
ENACLETE	3	3	6	5	3	1	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	4	2	6	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1
Non-crofting	4	5	1	3	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	5	2	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
Total E	12	12	29	14	18	4	19	15	5	-	-	6	-	-	-	1	-	4	1	16	8	10	9	17	14	20	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	8	1	-	-	18	2

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463
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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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APPENDIX B (continued).

(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, South Uig, August 1959

(excluding R.A.F. personnel but including local residents employed as civilians by the R.A.F.)

162
163
464

	District:* A	B	C	D	E
Croft work only	3	5	5	8	4
Croft and regular-					
-weaving	16	7	4	16	8
-fishing	-	-	-	1	-
-estate work	1	-	-	-	3
-R.A.F.	2	2	5	1	2
-M.C.A.	3	-	-	-	1
-public service	2	3	-	1	3
-professional	-	-	-	-	-
-transport	1	2	-	1	1
-retail trade	-	1	-	3	1
Croft and irregular-					
-casual labour	3	2	2	23	14
-estate work	-	-	-	-	1
Not crofting -					
-weaving	-	-	-	1	2
-R.A.F.	-	-	-	3	2
-M.C.A.	5	-	-	-	-
-public service	-	-	-	2	-
-professional	1	1	-	2	-
-transport	1	-	-	-	-

* Districts-
A: Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta
B: Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry
C: Aird and Crowlista
D: Valtos, Kneep, Reef and Meavaig
E: Caryshader, Geshader, Ungshader and Enaclete

(3) Destination of Emigrants 1939-59, South Uig

166
167

	Males	Females	TOTAL	of which Females on marriage:
Stornoway	16	17	33	10
Other Lewis	2	8	10	4
Other Crofting Cos.	12	8	20	6
Glasgow	12	12	24	11
Other Scotland	7	16	23	11
U.K.	7	7	14	7
Overseas	8	9	17	3
	64	77	141	52

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

000 GEOGRAPHICAL FIELD GROUP

Regional Studies No. 4

UIG

A Hebridean Parish

Parts III and IV

by H. A. Moisley, M.Sc.

and Members of the Geographical Field Group

/p. 56-A/

1962

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CONTENTS

000

Part III

DISTRICT ACCOUNTS

Chapter			Page
IX	The Bernera District	Philip Wheeler	58
X	The East Loch Roag District	Margaret Grice Anne Iredale Jennifer K. Oxenbury Doreen J. Phillips Roger H. Thomas	85
XI	The Carloway District	Bryan Loughbrough	97

PART IV

SOME PROBLEMS OF AN ISLAND COMMUNITY

XII	Agriculture in a crofting parish	H. A. Moisley	127
XIII	Population and employment	H. A. Moisley	138
XIV	Conclusions	H. A. Moisley	154

PART III

000 Chapter Page

IX THE BERNERA DISTRICT
Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson (on the island of Bernera) and Earshader, Crulivig, Lundale and Linshader (on the adjacent mainland) P. Wheeler 58

Field work by: Catherine M. Baker
Dennis H. Barrat
Brenda Metcalf
Dennis R. Mills
Philip Wheeler

X THE EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT
Callanish and Garynahine Anne Iredale and Jennifer K. Oxenbury 85
Breasclete Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips 90
Tolsta Chaolis Roger H. Thomas 93

XI THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT
Dun Carloway, Kirivick, Knock Carloway, Carloway, Borroston and Garenin B. Loughbrough 97

Field work by: Barry E. Darley
Margaret Grice
Bryan Hurl
Brian Loughbrough
Doreen J. Phillips
Catherine B. Smith

STATISTICAL APPENDICES TO PART III

Appendix C - Agricultural Statistics 114
Appendix D - Population Statistics 122

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632

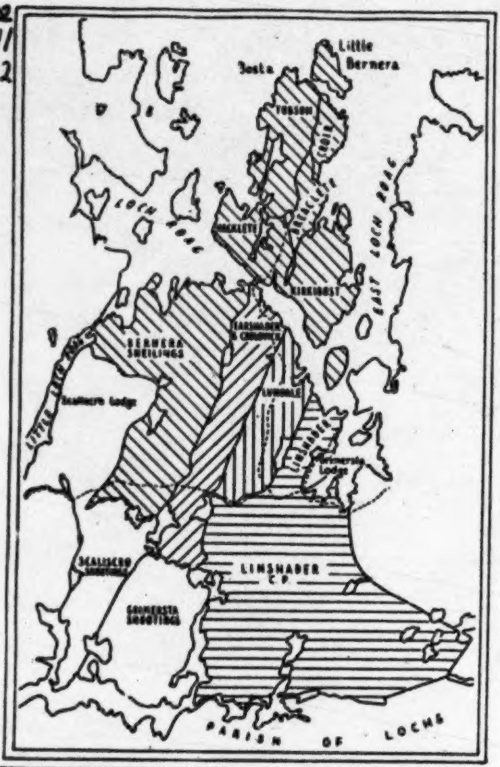
Little Bernera
Bosta
TOBSON
CROIR
BREACLETE
HACKLETE
KIRKIBOST
LOCH ROAG
EAST LOCH ROAG
BERNERA SHEILINGS
EARSHADER & CRULIVIG
LUNDALE
LINSHADER
Scaliscro Lodge
Grimersta Lodge
LITTLE LOCH ROAG
SCALISCRO SHOOTINGS
GRIMERSTA SHOOTINGS
LINSHADER C.P.
PARISH OF LOCHS

Figure 27

THE BERNERA DISTRICT

Table 20

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TOWNSHIP:	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES:		(acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
Croir	234	280		Bernera shielings 4,341 a.	8	-	8
Breacleta	104	481	Little Bernera 314 acres		13	3	13
Hacklete	254	731			20	1	20
Kirkibost	429	924	E. Keratay 178 a.		26	4	26
Tobson	171	689	Bosta 425 a.		24	-	21
Earshader	57	2,640			4	2	4
Crulivig	84				6	-	6
Lundale	156	1,000			6	-	6
Linshader	62	9,412	E. an Tighe 14 a.		10	-	10

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of
Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore"
[103] (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader),
presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation.
[49] Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered
waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent
building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from
[181] the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently
the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and
self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist
the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding
rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Introduction.
Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and
228 the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to
[17] resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it
464 provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on
regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work
[166] available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment
are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems
of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

172 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly
very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various
361 standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the
early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as
[173] in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the
very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent
those of the adjacent mainland.

175 With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been
cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from
361 Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere.
Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but
usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also
affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared,
leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the
Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of sheilings on the
mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

[316] (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few
men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

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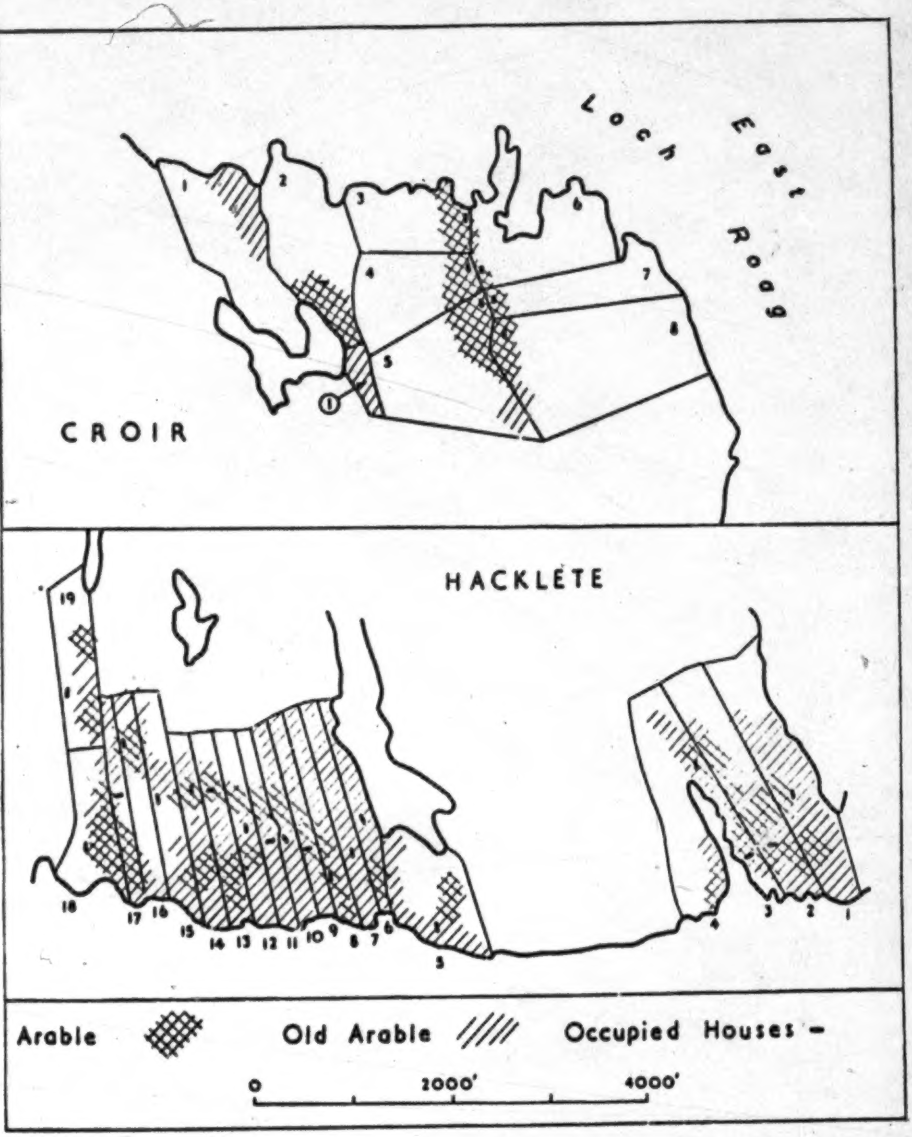
Loch East Roag
CROIR
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
①
HACKLETE
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
Arable
Old Arable
Occupied Houses –
0
2000'
4000'

Figure 28

Contrasting lay-out of crofts in an older township (Hacklete) and one re-settled by the Department of Agriculture (Croir). Note the relationship between croft boundaries and the better (i.e. potential arable) land.

175 beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the
361 district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was
completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is
obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land,
but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed
information on clearance and resettlement).

361 The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on
632 the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural
tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house
427 to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkiboat, where
an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township
was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Crulivig and Earshader also follow the
same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is
intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it
was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise
organisation. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and
consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch
Beg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams
contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of
physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkiboat, the distribution of settlement
361 seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the
342 old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional
problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth
178 century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thule
House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tacksman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouses
632 at 20 Kirkiboat and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested
Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples
being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled townships generally had improved
accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In
most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and
one near blackhouse are still occupied.

312 Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their
private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within
514 the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open
[164] ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this connection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952
354 to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is
sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove
(open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however,
help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise.
The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

491 Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag
provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War,
[494] and the £87,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of
sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera shore
townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale
crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Crulivig crofts, and West Earshader, are
somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom
across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the
bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The
old road to Kirkiboat was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom
were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained
untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable,
though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in
Bernera, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway
paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

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178 Problems of communication are not, however, solved merely by providing better roads: at least one household in four has a car or van, and this, with the fall in population, has caused a fatal decline in the use of public transport. The Bernera 'bus service was discontinued in August, 1959, for lack of demand. This is not, of course, an isolated example; the problem is common to all the Highlands, and indeed, to all the rural areas of Britain: in Sutherland, for example, the number of registrations of private cars has risen to very nearly 250% since 1945, and the total number of registrations for all classes of vehicles up to 1938 had risen to almost 200%, while the number of hackney carriages, after reaching a peak in 1952, has since declined by 70%.

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TABLE 21

Bernera District

Land related to tenants and working units

(all figures, except last column, are acres)

	Inbye: per tenant	Inbye: per working unit:	Common grazing per tenant	Common grazing per working unit:	Total land: per tenant	Total land: per working unit:	Ratio of inbye to total land
Breaclete	8.0	7.4	99	92	107	99	1:13.3
Croir	29.2	33.4	78	89	107	122	1: 3.6
Hacklete	12.7	12.7	96	96	108	108	1: 8.5
Kirkiboat	15.9	15.3	92	89	108	104	1: 6.8
Tobson	7.8	9.0	94	109	102	118	1:13.1
ISLAND TOTAL	13.2	13.5	93	95	106	108	1: 9.9
Earshader	11.5	9.5	264	220	275	230	1:24.1
Crulivig	14.0	14.0	220	220	234	234	1:16.7
Lundale	25.9	25.9	166	167	193	193	1: 7.4
Linshader	5.6	6.9	873	1,067	879	1,074	1:155.1
SHORE TOTAL	12.8	13.3	473	491	486	504	1:35.1
DISTRICT TOTAL	13.1	13.5	183	188	196	201	1:15.0

Note: in this table, "working units" include all crofts, whether stocked or not, and all other agricultural holdings. Two or more crofts worked together, whether registered under the same tenant or not, are counted as single working units. An agricultural holding is defined as one with at least one cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation.

Crofts and Commons

423 A crofting area normally consists of the croft land proper - the inbye (arable and
unimproved land, and various common grazings. Table 20 summarises the situation in
427 Bernera. Kirkibost has by far the largest inbye and the Bernera Island townships generally
are larger than those of Bernera Shore. That the positions are reversed with regard to
311 common grazings is due to the limited hill of Croir and the very extensive hill of Linshader.
The Bernera Island townships would, however, be much worse off for hill land had they
632 not various special common grazings (except Croir) and did they not share in the 4,341
acres of the Bernera shielings on the mainland. It is possible to calculate the appropriate
shieling share for each township on the basis that, though the theoretical soume for each
township and common grazing are exact, in fact all working units may send animals to the

TABLE 22

Bernera District

Sub-division and Amalgamation

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	ISLAND:						SHORE:					
	Breaclete	Croir	Hacklete	Kirkibost	Tobson	TOTAL	Earshader	Crulivig	Lundale	Linshader	TOTAL	DISTRICT TOTAL
Registered crofter-tenants	13	8	20	26	22	89	4	6	6	10	26	115
Agricultural feus	3	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	2	6
Agricultural cottars	-	-	1	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Agricultural squatters	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Working units (a)	14	7	20	28	19	88	6	6	6	9	27	115
Known sub-lets	3	1	1	2	1	7	-	-	-	2	2	9
Joint working (b)	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Joint working (c)	-	-	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sub-divisions (d)	1	-	1	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Other feus (e)	4	1	1	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Other cottars	-	-	1	-	3	4	-	1	-	-	1	5

Notes:
(a) Whether stocked or not
(b) Family co-operation involving amalgamation of holdings.
(c) " " not " " " "
(d) Usually between members of a family, but not recognised, on the Valuation Roll.
(e) Excluding those without occupied dwellings.

423 427 311 632 [491] shielings, and that therefore the shieling area per township is in proportion to the number of working units in that township (total, 88 working units on the island). If these shares are deducted it will be seen that only Kirkiboat and Tobson common grazings exceed in area those of Lundale, the smallest of the Bernera Shore grazings, and that even this is no longer so if the special grazings, mainly later enlargements, are further deducted. All this serves to emphasise the relative crowding on Bernera Island and the consequent vital importance to most working units of the shielings. This has probably increased in the last decade with the construction of the bridge, for whereas previously there was a biannual ferrying operation to the mainland, tedious, unpleasent, and exhausting for both beast and man, nowadays droving to the hills is an easy matter.

A somewhat different picture emerges when land is related to tenants and working units (table 21). If the inbye per croft tenant is calculated it is seen that Croir has the largest, (29 acres), rivalled only by Lundale, (26 acres), Hacklete, Kirkiboat, Earshader, and Crulivig form an intermediate group (11 to 16 acres), while Breaclete, Tobson and Linshader have but eight acres or less. However, the average area of inbye is more revealing if calculated in relation to working units: then the Bernera Island townships are seen to range from 7 acres (Breaclete) to 33 (Croir) while only Lundale has more than 20 acres, the others having 14 or less. For the whole island the average of inbye per tenant (13.2 acres) is close to that for the Shore (12.8 acres) and the inbye per working unit (13.5 acres: 13.3 acres) is almost identical. Thus, there is considerable variation in the amount of inbye land available per tenant and the amalgamation of tenancies into working units does not seriously change this distribution.

None of the Bernera Island townships has as much common grazing per tenant, nor per working unit, as any of the Bernera Shore townships, (little more than 100 acres as opposed to never less than 160 acres). The Bernera Shore townships as a group have about five times more pasture per tenant and per working unit than those of Bernera Island. Breaclete stands out as the township with the greatest shortage of land.

The various forms of subdivision and amalgamation of crofts and parts of crofts, or other holdings, are summarised in Table 22. In the small townships of Bernera Shore only Earshader, with four crofters, has non-crofting holdings with stock; there is little amalgamation. In Bernera Island, however, only Hacklete has the same number of working units as of registered croft holders and Breaclete, the township with the greatest shortage of land, is also the township with the greatest degree of unofficial change and intromission. In contrast, Tobson, in spite of its unconsolidated plan, presents a simple picture. Breaclete also has the largest number of feus, including the only feus not functioning as agricultural units. This emphasises its function as a centre for the Island.
[368] It has both manses, both churches, the War Memorial, the school and the District Nurse.

198 427 These changes must however be seen in perspective. The Bernera region has not suffered from the type of amalgamation which is the result of decay and which facilitates further decay; the actual change is not very great. The number of agricultural working units is 98% of the number of crofter-tenants. It is illuminating to compare the region with Sutherland where many former crofts, quite abandoned to rough pasture, have been taken off the rentals. Apart from changes due to clearances, the Bernera region has none of either type. Of 575 holdings examined in thirty-one townships in Sutherland, amalgamation has reduced the number of effective crofting units to only 437, i.e. 76% of the formal figure. Amalgamations by family co-operation are comparatively few in Sutherland (26 out of 173 known examples) whereas subletting is common. A further brief example may be taken from one of the Shetland islands where amalgamation has reduced the original number of holdings from something like 350 to about 250 working units.

TABLE 23

Bernera District

Size-distribution of working units

(The double asterisk ** indicates the approximate position of the modal mean)

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Area of unit in acres:

	nil to 1.0	1.1 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20.0	Average
Breaclete	2	-	4	1 **	3	4	-	-	7.4
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5 **	33.4
Hacklete	-	-	-	2	7 **	5	4	2	12.7
Kirkiboat	-	-	2	5	2	*10*	4	3	15.3
Tobson	-	2	5	3 **	3	4	1	-	8.9
ISLAND TOTAL	2	2	11	11	15 **	23 **	11	12	13.7
Earshader	1	-	-	-	- **	5	-	-	9.5
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	-	4 **	2	-	14.0
Lundale	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4 **	25.9
Linshader	-	-	4	- **	4	1	-	-	6.9
SHORE TOTAL	1	-	4	-	4 **	12	2	4	13.3
DISTRICT	3	2	15	11	19 **		13	16	13.5

Once the interchanges are understood and the numbers of working units accepted, it is possible to analyse the relative Inbye sizes of the agricultural units, (table 23). Croir and Lundale have the highest average size and highest modal means; and the other townships with the exceptions of Breaclete, Tobson and Linshader, falling in the 10.1-15 acre class. On Bernera Shore, Linshader has the smallest working units but the range of variation even there is comparatively small, whereas on Bernera Island, except in the resettled township of Croir, there is always a range of five or six categories. Hence the occasional divergence between the modal and arithmetic means. Again this is the cause and sign of a greater degree of adjustment on Bernera Island.

TABLE 24

Bernera District

Common Pastures, Soumings, and actual stock.

(Stock in "cow units" calculated according to
the Grazing Regulations)

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	AREA:	SOUMING:		ACTUAL STOCK:		
	Acres	Cow units	Acres per cow	Cow units	As % of soum	Acres per cow unit
Breaclete	1,284	105	12.3	88	84	14.6
Croir	622	43	14.1	49	114	12.6
Hacklete	1,913	259	7.4	189	73	10.1
Kirkibost	2,491	303	8.2	188	63	13.3
Tobson	2,050	253	8.2	120	48	17.1
ISLAND	8,363	962	8.7	634	66	13.2
Earshader	1,320	38	35.1	65	174	20.2
Crulivig	1,320	51	26.8	70	140	18.6
Lundale	1,000	72	13.9	62	86	16.1
Linshader	9,426	95	100.0	92	96	102.5
SHORE	13,066	255	51.5	290	114	45.2
BERNERA DISTRICT	21,451	1,237	17.5	924	74.7	23.4

423 **Stock - potential and actual.***

427 The croft is in almost every case primarily a stock raising unit and cultivation apart
from certain items - particularly potatoes for domestic use - is connected with stock
231 rearing. The basis of the stock system is the soum, the share of the common pastures
311 in terms of horses, cattle and sheep. The largest total soums (more than two hundred
cow-units) are held by Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson; all the other townships have a
hundred or less cow-units (Table 24). This has some relation to the size of common
632 grazing. The very large area of Linshader is that of the former farm: the present

---

* Details of actual stock and souming for each township will be found in Appendix A.

231 soum is less than the capacity of the grazing and represents the Land Court's estimate
of the stock the crofters would be able to keep: the consequent discrepancy and retro-
423 gression in total stocking is a typical result of the replacement of commercial farms by
427 crofting subjects (c.f. page 25 above). It is better however to consider the area of
common grazing and soum combined: in fact, the average acreage per cow-unit is fairly
311 uniform for Bernera Island, (8.7 acres). Bernera Shore has a wider variation of from
632 11.6 to 100.9 acres per cow-unit: obviously, either the Bernera Island townships grazings,
particularly Bernera shielings, were originally estimated as of superior value, or, for
whatever cause, the common grazings of Bernera Shore are relatively under-used. How
is this reflected in practice?

TABLE 25

Bernera District

Comparison of soums and actual stock, by townships.

	Average soum per working unit	Actual stock per working unit	Soum held per working unit	Working units with less than 50% of their soum
Bearclete	6.5	5.5	84%	19%
Croir	6.2	7.0	114%	nil
Hacklete	12.9	9.5	73%	25%
Kirkibost	10.8	6.7	63%	29%
Tobson	13.3	6.3	46%	58%
BERNERA ISLAND	10.6	5.5	66%	43%
Earshader	6.3	10.9	174%	nil
Crulivig	8.4	11.8	140%	nil
Lundale	9.0	10.4	86%	nil
Linshader	10.6	10.2	96%	22%
BERNERA SHORE	9.8	11.6	114%	8%
BERNERA DISTRICT	10.6	6.5	75%	20%

Note: all soums and stock are calculated in "cow units", using the sheep equivalence as given in the Grazing Regulations.

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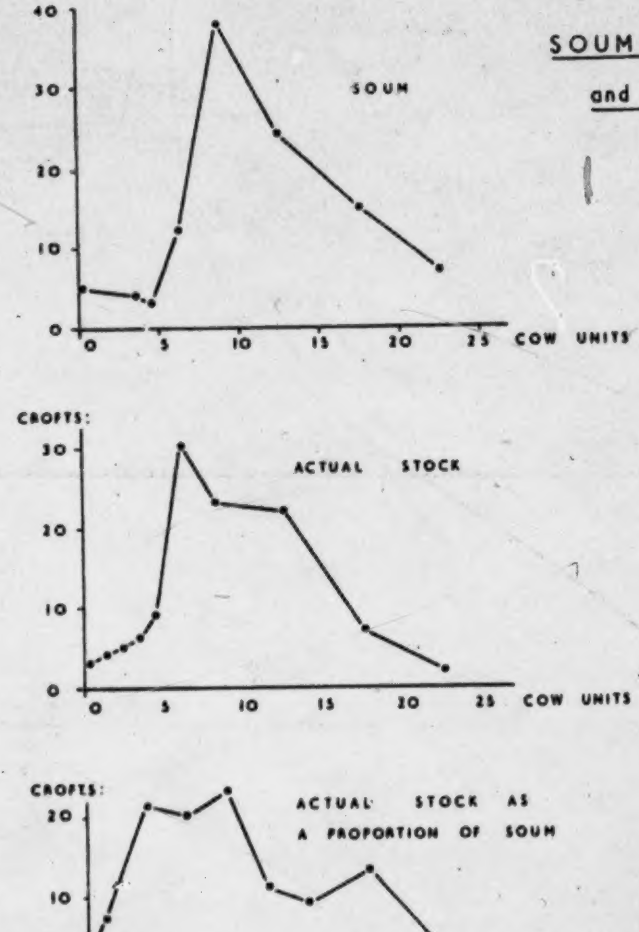

Figure 29

SOUMS

and STOCK

231 Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson have by far the largest total holdings of stock but are
eclipsed in regard to percentage of soum actually held by Breaclete, Croir, and all the
311 Bernera Shore townships. In fact the average percentage soum held is 66% on the Island
632 as against 114% on the Shore. If efficiency is interpreted in terms of stock rearing
therefore, Tobson is less than 50% efficient, Hacklete and Kirkibost 50% to 75% Breaclete
Linshader and Lundale 75 to 100%, and the rest 100% to 175% efficient, the average
falling at 75%.

It is also interesting to remark the area of common grazing per cow-unit actually held. This shows that, in effect, the Bernera Island townships, as might be expected from their use of one main common grazing, have much the same amount of land per beast The Bernera Shore townships apparently need rather larger areas of land per cow-unit; the excessively large area shown for Linshader indicates understocking.

[427] Figure 29 summarises the incidence of soums and actual stock carried. It will be seen that, although there are some crofts with soums of under five and over fifteen cow-units, the majority lie between those limits with a marked peak in the 7.5 to 10 cow-unit class. The largest soums tend to be under-utilised. Figure 28 shows the percentage of the soum held. Almost a quarter of the working units have less than 50% of their soum and must therefore be considered as inefficient in their chief function of stock raising, about one third have 50 - 100% and rather less than 1/3 have over 100%

The incidence from township to township varies (table 25) but generally the Bernera Shore townships have more uniform individual soums than the older and larger Island townships, though the range of size of stock holdings and consequently of soums held is more comparable. Table 25 shows the average soum per croft or working unit: Breaclete and Croir are similar with only just over half the average for the rest of Bernera Island. None of the Bernera Shore townships have soums as large as the bigger Island ones, and one of them, Earshader has no more than Breaclete or Croir. Kirkibost and Tobson stand out as far the most generously treated townships, but is this justified in practice?

Expressed in terms of cow units, (table 25) the total soums reveal that, on Bernera Island, only Croir is really efficient with just over 100% of its soum: Breaclete, Hacklete and Kirkbost are satisfactory - and no more - with 60 - 80%; but Tobson has only 45% of its soum. This is a very much poorer showing than that for the Bernera Shore townships, only one of which drops much below 100%. Therefore on the Shore the soums, though smaller, are better taken up than on the Island. Further it is clear that, of the individual working units on Bernera Island, none of those of Croir are unsatisfactory, three out of sixteen at Breaclete are not satisfactory, five out of twenty at Hacklete, eight out of twenty-eight at Kirkibost and eleven out of nineteen at Tobson, whereas on Bernera Shore there are only two unsatisfactory units - at Linshader - one of which is presently vacant with a dispute over the tenancy.

But so far, only the total soum has been considered: in fact it is necessary to consider
231 the elements of that soum, for in order to maintain the pasture one must have a stock
233 suitably balanced as between cattle and sheep. When the soums were originally calcu-
lated this was borne in mind and were every soum fully occupied in the proportions
311 originally planned, the balance of grazing would presumably be satisfactory. Table 26
shows the stock equivalents in sheep units. In Croir the soum would indicate a marked
preponderance of cattle +, in Linshader (with its extensive hill lands) of sheep; otherwise
there is a rough balance in the soumings between large and small hooved beasts.
[656] Occasionally there are special permissive or restrictive clauses in the regulations. For
instance, on Breaclete township common grazing, "...a landholder...shall be entitled to
graze thereon, free of charge, during summer and autumn, two hoggs for every pound
sterling of rent, for replacing the cast ewes...". Similarly, in Linshader horses are
not allowed on a fenced area of 800 acres, and on Little Bernera horses are specifically
disallowed. But generally the various classes of stock have clear equivalents which are
freely interchangeable. How does this work in practice?

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[698] + Editorial Note: this was probably because, when the Land Court determined the soum, Croir had no share in Bernera Sheilings. This now calls for adjustment, which should be made when the Crofters Commission re-enact the local Grazing Regulations.

TABLE 26

Bernera District

Souming calculated in sheep units

231
233
311
632

	Basic soums in sheep units				
	Horses	Cattle	Horses & Cattle	Sheep	Special Grazings
Breaclete	-	9	9	8	8
Croir	-	21	21	12	-
Hacklete	-	9	9	8	8
Kirkibost	-	9	9	8	-
Tobson	-	9	9	8	16
Earshader	-	21	21	26	1
Crulivig	-	21	21	27	-
Lundale	-	28	28	32	-
Linshader	6	7	13	30	-

Table 27 shows the cattle soum and holding: there is a marked similarity between the Island townships, (all holding about one third of their soum), and the Shore townships, (three of which range from 60% to 100% and only one of which, Lundale, has less than 40%. That these averages are not misleading is proved by the fact that the scatter of percentages of cattle-soum held per working unit is less wide for the Bernera Island townships than for those of the Bernera Shore, bearing in mind the smaller number of units in the latter.

It is a little difficult to account for this, particularly when it is observed (Table 28) that there is no correlation with the percentages of the sheep stock held; the Island townships vary from having half their soum of sheep)Tobson) to double (Croir), and those of the Shore from a little over the correct figure to well over twice as many; but whereas the number of oversoumings for sheep is everywhere high and non-sheep-keeping crofters are rare, there are 10 agricultural units with no cattle and 25 with only one cattle beast. It

TABLE 27

Bernera District: Cattle

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of cattle soum actually carried.

231
311
632

	Number of units with:									Aver.
	Less than 100% of soum:					Less than 100% of soum:				all
	Nil	1-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	101-125	126-150	151-200	200+	units
Breaclete	-	6	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	33%
Croir	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	32%
Hackiete	1	6	10	2	-	-	1	-	-	34%
Kirkibost	1	7	15	4	1	-	-	-	-	29%
Tobson	1	5	9	1	2	-	-	-	-	34%
ISLAND	4	24	42	9	4	-	1	-	-	32%
Earshader	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	62%
Crulivig	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	-	72%
Lundale	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	38%
Linshader	4	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	96%
SHORE	5	1	9	2	4	1	2	1	-	60%
DISTRICT	9	25	51	11	8	1	3	1	-	37%

231 is probable that the constant but rather low incidence of cattle on the Island is governed
by two factors: first the shortage of common grazings near the township and the neglect
233 of the only alternative source, the shielings, and second, the memory of past isolation -
and the present impossibility otherwise of getting milk save from a neighbour - which
311 makes a milch-cow a necessary part of the equipment of almost every household. On the
632 mainland, where the common grazings are contiguous with the inbye, summer grazing of
cattle is much easier particularly, as in Crulivig and Linshader, where there are special
fences to divide the near and far pastures (cf. the old Norwegian spring-autumn and high
summer seters.

We may compare fifteen Sutherland townships, in which 89% of the stock held is sheep,
[178] with the Bernera District in which 80% of the total stock is sheep. That this balance of
stock is not old-established is revealed by comparison with the stock figures collected for

TABLE 28

Bernera District: Sheep

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of Sheep soum actually carried.

233
311
632

	Number of units with:									Average all units
	Less than 100% of soum:					More than 100% of soum:				
	nil	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%	101-125%	126-150%	151-200%	more than 200%	
Breaclete	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	100%
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	210%
Hacklete	-	2	2	4	2	1	5	1	3	89%
Kirkibost	1	3	2	4	9	3	2	3	1	79%
Tobson	2	1	3	8	2	2	-	-	-	56%
ISLAND	4	6	7	17	16	9	8	8	8	88%
Earshader	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	237%
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	184%
Lundale	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	140%
Linshader	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	3	128%
SHORE	1	-	1	2	2	2	4	4	9	156%
DISTRICT	5	6	8	19	18	11	12	12	17	103%

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311
632
[178]

the Napier Commission in 1883; these show that the Bernera region now keeps less than half the former number of full grown cattle beasts but only a slightly higher percentage of sheep. It is an unavoidable conclusion that resettlement and enlargement has not led to greater agricultural efficiency: since it was carried out for social and not economic reasons, this is perhaps not unreasonable, but it augurs ill for the future of a community which must be largely dependent on agriculture.

Land Use and Cultivation*.

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[231]

Before considering the details of stock management it is well to review land-use, for cultivation is subsidiary to, and directed at, stock keeping. Few crofts have no culti-

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* Details of crops and grass by townships will be found in Appendix A.

TABLE 29

Bernera District: cultivation

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	'Old arable as % of inbye (%)	Av. area of inbye per unit (acres)	Crops as % of inbye (%)	No. of units according to acres of crop:							
				Nil	less than 0.5	0.6 to 1.0	1.1 to 1.5	1.6 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	more than 7.5
Breaclete	34	7.4	26	1	1	2	2	6	2	-	-
Croir	7	33.4	4	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	-
Hacklete	18	12.7	15	1	-	1	6	9	3	-	-
Kirkiboat	17	15.3	13	-	-	4	9	8	6	1	-
Tobson	26	9.0	17	2	-	2	7	7	1	-	-
ISLAND	21	13.5	18	4	1	10	28	31	13	1	-
Earshader	38	9.5	15	1	-	1	2	1	1	-	-
Crulivig	24	14.0	16	-	-	1	-	3	1	1	-
Lundale	35	25.9	10	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-
Linshader	67	6.9	30	-	1	1	1	3	3	-	-
SHORE	39	13.3	16	1	1	3	3	11	7	1	-
DISTRICT TOTAL	26	13.5	17	5	2	13	31	42	20	2	-

241 vation at all, but even fewer have more than 2.6 acres (table 29). Expressed as a percentage, little more than a quarter of the total inbye area is even "old arable", of which only about two-thirds is cultivated. Oats are every-where the most important crop: they are used almost exclusively for fodder. Potatoes, mainly for domestic use, are the only other significant crop; the absence of turnips is noteworthy. The crops are in general subject to some sort of rotation within the physical limits of each croft unit; oats are usually undersown with grass when the arable is to be left unploughed for a period but the "sown grass for pasture" is [319] largely reseeded pasture land. The rest of the croft is left for pasture and hay, and, in many cases the cutting of peat - a sure sign of agricultural decline. The inbye economy depends upon so many unpredictable variables that it becomes extremely difficult to generalise about the areas thus used. Forty-seven gardens exist in the Bernera region, but many of them are almost 'notional' and others are merely potato patches: perhaps half-a-dozen are at all well cultivated, for flowers or food.

241
178 The main change in the crops grown, apart from the introduction of sown grass, has been in the corn crops, where barley has been completely displaced by oats. Barley was grown up to 1936 - at least in Crulivig - and gave a good crop. It used to be pulled, (not scythed), stacked, then the ears cut off with a sickle and the stalks used for thatching. Probably the disappearance of thatch and the replacement of barley bread by the products of the town bakery account for the decline in barley. Fewer potatoes are grown than formerly: this directly reflects the decline in population. The absence of turnips is due at least in part to the heavy incidence of finger-and-toe disease.

TABLE 30

Bernera District

Number of crofts using various fertilisers, etc.

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	Artificial	Dung	Lime	Seaweed	Shell sand	None
Breaclete	10	10	4	1	-	-
Croir	7	6	4	3	-	-
Hacklete	18	18	12	14	-	1
Kirkibost	25	28	17	12	1	1
Tobson	14	16	10	4	1	3
Earshader	6	5	3	1	-	-
Crulivig	6	5	5	5	-	-
Lundale	5	4	3	4	1	1
Linshader	8	7	-	4	-	-
DISTRICT TOTAL	99	99	58	48	3	10

241 [237] [824] The fertilisers used in the past were dung and sea-ware. The sea-ware, mainly bladderwrack, and the tough stems of oar weed, was, wherever possible, simply gathered from the beach, though in the more sheltered areas, particularly along Bernera Shore, it was actually cut and towed in rafts to the crofts. There seems to have been little rigid allocation of the rights in sea-ware. In Breaclete each croft had its own stretch of shore and possibly in Tobson, but elsewhere there seems to have been plenty for everyone. The actual gathering in March was a long, strenuous and unpleasant task. The application of sea-ware seems to have been rather rough and ready; certainly there was no careful selection of different types for different crops and purposes: presumably it was merely gathered, mixed with dung to facilitate the rotting, and spread on the arable after sowing. It is reckoned now that about 160 creels are necessary to the acre in Earshader and Lundale.

241 237 824 134 Table 30 shews the present use of fertilisers and manure. It will be seen that dung is still widely used but seaware is used in a minority of cases, particularly in Breaclete and Earshader. The first at least may be related to the various troubles that have afflicted the township, and to the fact that several holdings are in effect very small with but plots of cultivation. This also relates to the large number in Breaclete who use no form of fertiliser at all. Shell sand is neglected for reasons of inaccessibility: it is present on Little Bernera, and more particularly and of excellent quality, at Bosta. It is difficult to get from within the Island the large quantities of sand needed to qualify for the lime subsidy; it would be possible to get it from Bosta sands, there is a township road to within about a hundred yards of the beach, but the township is unwilling to open it to the wear and tear of lorry transport.

657 Artificial fertilisers are increasingly used. The first consideration at the present is undoubtedly that certain amounts have to be applied in order to qualify for the ploughing subsidies. This has overcome a reluctance engendered by early over-enthusiastic applications of sulphate of ammonia. Lime, in the powdered form or as nitro-chalk, is commonly applied. There is undoubtedly considerable ignorance in the application and use of artificials: they are often used only because of subsidy conditions, and the crofter is surprised, though gratified, when they have any practical effect. Certainly most crofters have no programme of their own of regular balanced applications to crop land. They need further advice.

The best balanced fertiliser policies are followed on the reseeded pastures, mainly because the crofters are careful to follow the directions they receive. They will follow advice in these matters when they can get it. In 1959 reseeding had been undertaken by 16 individuals, (20 acres) and by one township (Breaclete). Reseeding has definitely "caught on" as a means of improving the stock carrying capacity of a croft, with comparatively little outlay in labour or machinery.(1) It is, however, a new project: one may wonder whether the crofters will have sufficient pertinacity and funds to continue indefinitely. Reseeding is not cheap; it may cost £18 to £28 an acre and it is reckoned to cost £3 per annum to maintain. A considerable increase in output will have to be evident to make it worth the crofters' while to continue.

231 40 The methods of cultivation still include much spade digging, and some crofts depend entirely upon this. Horse and plough, though basically unsuited to the cultivation of lazy beds, can generally be used on most but the smallest beds, but the problem now is to get hold of a horse for ploughing. Hence - as in at least one instance at Croir - where it is impossible to hire a horse and the land is unsuited to tractor operation - the choice may well be between spade cultivation or no cultivation at all. The situation is not eased by the difficulty of hiring any one of the three tractors in the area at a time when the land is in the best condition. This is all doubly unfortunate because of the universality of the lazy bed; this might be regarded as a symbol of a backward or even a primitive agricultural system, but is, in fact, an excellent adaptation to natural conditions of climate and soil - so long as there is plenty of hand labour. It is only when labour becomes expensive, or difficult to obtain, that the lazy bed becomes uneconomical. This is, of cours, another way of saying that the lazy bed was the concomitant of a designedly self-sufficient agricultural system; if it is well kept up, the lazy bed is a good means of conserving soil vitality and maintaining adequate drainage. In the past the hollows between the beds were cleared every year or two and the soil spread on top. Thus lazy beds, particularly those on slopes, need a good deal of hand labour as well as heavy fertilization.

It is very difficult to see the answer to the cultivation problem now labour is no longer freely available: there could certainly be more small tractors and cultivators, but even they lead to the throwing together of lazy beds, and - except in places such as Croir where drains may be laid below the loam on clay, or in certain favoured sites like part of 4 Crulivig where the peaty soil overlies a firm gravel substratum - it is impossible both to throw the lazy beds together and maintain drainage. One is faced with all the difficulties of drainage of peat in an area of heavy precipitation. The hill lazy beds, though they are better drained, all too often have too little depth of soil to make cultivation by tractor a practical proposition.

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(1) Editorial note: This remark has been borne out by events; in 1960 township schemes totalling 88 acres were thus improved.

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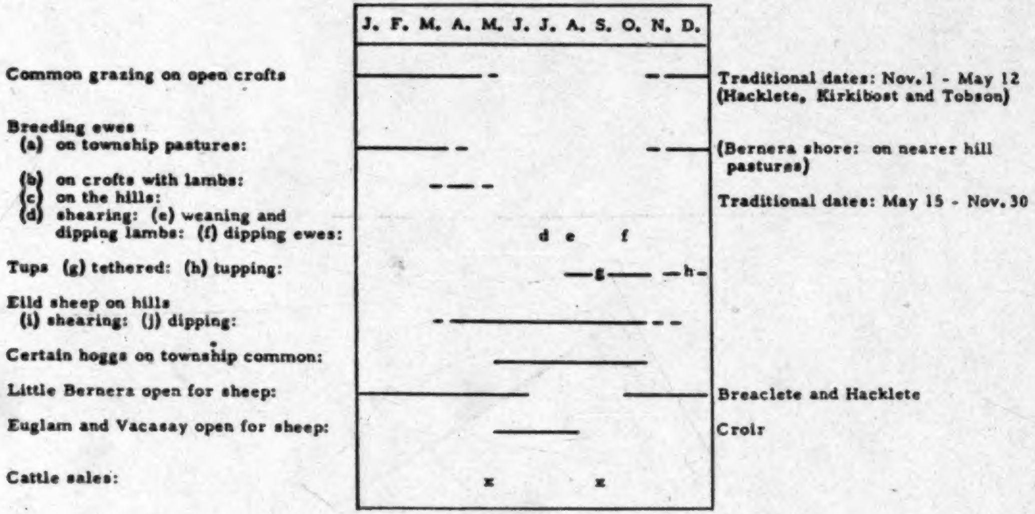
FIGURE 30

Calendar of stock

movements in the Bernera district



Stock Management.

221 233 178 The annual rhythm of stock keeping has lost the clear definition it used to some extent to possess. The decline in summer residence at shielings has already been mentioned: most were in use up to 1914, and many were visited after the Great War, but the decline continued during the inter-war period until practically the last visits were made between 1936 (Lundale) and 1939 (Tobson): very few shielings have been visited since. There are one or two isolated examples of a summer visit to the pastures still surviving, but [476] they are not carried out by regular crofters having normal grazing rights. The construction, since 1908, of ring fences around the inbye and the more recent fencing of certain common grazings has further lessened the necessity of herding and co-operating regularly on the commons. The importance of fencing may be judged by the fact that it was estimated that, whereas prior to the construction of the fence there were about 4,000 sheep grazing over the Earshader - Crulivig - Lundale area, including about 2,000 from the Bernera Shielings and about 200 from Uig, there are now only about 1,500. Figure 30 indicates both the periods when the sheep are on the hills and the variation in the dates of movement. This applies mainly to the Island townships, for mainland townships which are contiguous with the grazings, may keep sheep on the hill for as long as six months each year. The rest of the year is spent on the township pasture and inbye. Hacklete, Kirkibost and all but seven of the Tobson crofts are open in the winter to common grazing. When the custom was more widespread the dates were clearly stated and adhered to, now there is more variation, and November 7th or 14th (Hacklete) or 17th (Kirkibost) have become indications rather than rules, depending on weather and the lifting of crops. On the mainland, ('Bernera Shore') the sheep may be brought merely nearer to the crofts rather than right onto the arable; where fences have been constructed separating off an area of common grazing next the head dyke of the township, as at Earshader (1908)×, Crulivig (1908, and 1939), and Lundale, this practice may be formalised, so that only certain classes of sheep are ever taken on the croft. The movement from the croft to the hills is governed mainly by the weather: the eild sheep will be sent off to the hills some time in April if at all possible, and the ewes in lamb often thereupon taken into the inbye if they are not there already. During May, when lambing is safely accomplished, the beasts able to support themselves and when the weather is suitable, the ewes with lambs are sent to the hill.

There are some places with special practices, notably Little Bernera which is closed to grazing in July, August and September. Similarly each holding may graze a certain proportion of replacement hoggs upon the township common grazing of Breaclete while the other stock is on the hill: this may formerly have been a more widespread custom: it certainly has contemporary parallel in Kirkibost where some sheep remain on the township common pasture to compensate for the much reduced numbers of cattle grazing there in summer.

The individual crofter, or two or more in co-operation, keeps tups buying a new beast from a different source every three years, unlike Sutherland where it is almost universal to hire them. These are usually tethered upon the croft from August until tupping in December. This again takes place on the croft (compare Sutherland, where, since the tups are generally hired by the township, the tupping is usually done upon the hill and often entails a good deal of herding). The ewes are not generally hand fed except in emergency, though here, as in all other crofting areas, opinion is divided on the advisable extent of this practice. It is however, more general to hand feed the hoggs which, indeed, may be kept under-cover at night in the worst weather, even though they are on the croft [132] or (Bernera Shore) on the nearer common grazing during the day. It is clear, though, that, in spite of the occasional hard weather, there is not generally the amount of snow and frost in winter to cause that amount of hand feeding and care which is a necessity in many parts of the mainland Highlands.

×Since 1950 about 120 acres have been divided in four and individually fenced.

221 233 Since so much of the year is spent either upon or near the crofts it is but to be expected that greatest losses of Island sheep will take place in the summer when they are far from supervision upon the hills; this contrasts with the mainland Highlands where heaviest losses, apart from those due to sudden snow falls, generally come about lambing time, when this takes place upon the hill, or soon after, in cases when the ewes and lambs are put to the hill too soon. On Bernera Shore on the other hand losses are heaviest on the hill in winter. Losses are extremely uneven in their incidence in time and from croft to croft. The cause of loss varies: there are no serious endemic diseases now, and there are few coastal cliffs - a frequent cause of loss in other places. There are however some boggy areas in the interior and some rugged: whether or not there are losses due to vermin particularly eagles, is a debatable point. Probably the fundamental cause of loss is lack of shepherding and adequate day-to-day oversight upon the hill.

233 There are certain special pastures that show interesting features. The Flannan Islands have excellent pasture, especially for the poorer male shearlings which need bringing on. There is all-the-year-round grazing for fifty sheep, which is shared by two crofters in Crulivig and one in Earshader. Unfortunately, the difficulty of getting a boat to go across has meant that for the last two years no visits have been made, and, after one or two years unattended, the animals become quite wild. Since 1949, when the Croir tenants were first permitted to cut peat upon the Bernera shielings, they have ceased to do so on Vacasay Island, where they now each send two sheep for summer grazing. They also send one sheep each to Euglam Island from 15th May to 16th August. One croft in Tobson includes certain small islands:

Bearsay Island	(16.4 acres; soumed for 12 sheep per annum)
Eilean Fir Crothair	(4.6 acres; soumed for 5 sheep per annum)
Seildeim	(1.0 acres; soumed for 3 wedders per summer)

Similarly, Valasay (part of Tobson), has Eilean Liongain Valasay which provides summer pasture for two young cattle beasts or five sheep (one per croft). One crofter in Crulivig has a small offshore island taking two hoggs during tupping and at least one crofter in Crulivig also grazing on Ben Sgurain, but there has been no success in the attempts to heft stock there. It is distant and unfenced; losses can be heavy.

231 Lewis is a very restricted market for livestock: the general practice in the Bernera area is to sell cast ewes at five or six or even more years to the butchers in Stornoway, Lambs may be sold on occasion, but generally they are kept either for replacement or for sale as three-year wedders.* The losses which occur, plus a certain amount of slaughter for domestic use, prevent long-term accumulation, though periodic fluctuations may be severe. Occasionally when there is a surplus of summer grazing, the Bernera Shore townships may buy in lambs from the western coast of Lewis, carefully eschewing those raised on the machair lands, which are said to be too "soft" for the hills. These are reckoned a gamble, they may or may not "take". The practice may be compared with that of the former Linshader Farm where, to take up the summer surplus of feed, young cattle were bought from the crofters.

236 [illegible] [434] The wool from the Lewis Blackface sheep generally varies from three to four lbs. per fleece. There is no longer any hand spinning; most wool is either sold outright or sent to the mills for spinning and dyeing. This practice is of long-standing. Even before the Great War, when the rent formed by far the most important item in the monetary affairs of the croft, the wool was either sold outright or, more commonly, sent to the mills for spinning and then taken to a weaver; the tweed was then sold either locally or to a merchant in Stornoway, the proceeds being used for the rent and other items.

231 178 Cattle, as has been pointed out, have declined greatly in relative importance since 1883: they are fewer in number - though far better in quality - and consequently subject

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[436] *Three-year wedders in good condition fetch about £6 for slaughter. Carcase weight is about 44/45 lbs., sometimes as little as 38 and sometimes as much as 55 lbs.

231 [118] to less regular routines than was the case when the shielings formed an essential part of the grazing regime. The old "Black Cattle" strain is completely bred out, nor is there much trace of Highland blood. The cattle are almost exclusively of Shorthorn or of Aberdeen Angus or of cross blood in order to qualify for the hill cattle subsidy. The exceptions, like the Jersey cow in Crulivig, are very few. The cows are dual purpose beasts, kept for milk and for production of calves for sale. The latter are sold either within a week or so of birth, or at the age of up to six months (i.e. in autumn) or at about eighteen months age, after which the regulations usually specify that followers must be counted as full-grown beasts in the soum. They may be sold either in Stornoway or at the biannual sale at Breaclete. Cows unless they are being passed on to another crofter, are usually sold to the Stornoway slaughter house. Again, owing to the restricted market available, prices are lower than on the mainland, though undoubtedly greatly improved since 1939.

The problem of winter feed is still a governing factor in cattle management: cattle kept through the winter need a good deal of fodder, and happy the crofter and fortunate the year when it is not necessary to buy in a certain amount of cake, bruised oats, other feed or even hay. However, it is generally reckoned that the croft will supply the most if not all of the hay and oats. In any case, the amount generally bought in is a great deal less than that necessary in the mainland Highlands. This is largely due to the fact that, on many days, the cattle can be let out for foraging and will, in fact, manage to gain some natural feed.

Here, in contrast with Sutherland (where frequently a bull upon a neighbouring farm is used for service), and even with Park (where each township has its own bull) there is but one bull. In order to get round the problems of maintenance which have occasionally bedevilled Lewis townships, there is a recognised practice: the bull spends July to October upon the Tobson township common grazing, and the rest of the year on Little Bernera.*

Horses have never occupied a very important place in the economy of the area. It is said that the first horse on Bernera Island was taken to Hacklete bout 1923: previous to that and for some time after, most of the cultivation was by hand. This is understandable: in an area where most of the arable land is in lazy beds, and where, owing to dependence upon and nearness to the sea, problems of long distance land transport did not arise, there was little place for the horse, a fact which was recognised by the omission of horses from all the soums save that of Linshader itself. There is no recollection in the area of the keeping of goats. Nor is there a tradition of pig-keeping, though there were undoubtedly a few kept in the past. Poultry are kept almost entirely for domestic use.

Population - ages and occupations.**

162 Questions of land use cannot be separated from questions of population. The permanently resident population of the Bernera region is but three hundred and sixty and it is not balanced as to age-distribution (see Fig. 30). Appendix C(3) shows that out of 85 croft-holders on Bernera there are 34 full-time crofters: 21 are men, only seven of whom are less than 65; 13 are women, only six of whom are less than 65. The situation is even worse on Bernera Shore: out of 25 croft holders, only 11 are full-time, all men
464 but all are over 65. The term 'full-time crofter' really implies crofter with no other occupation, and cannot be taken as necessarily involving a full-time unit of effective agricultural labour. Of the croft holders with full-time employment, 33 on the Island and six on the Shore, all but one, as would be expected, are less than 65. Therefore a large part of the active labour force is siphoned off into other occupations, for, increasingly, a man with a regular job has neither the energy nor the inclination to work a croft in

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*The introduction of Artificial Insemination may soon change this.

**Appendix D(1) contains details of population by townships, appendices D(2) and (3) give further details of occupations and emigration.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 81

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POPULATION

AGE and SEX composition

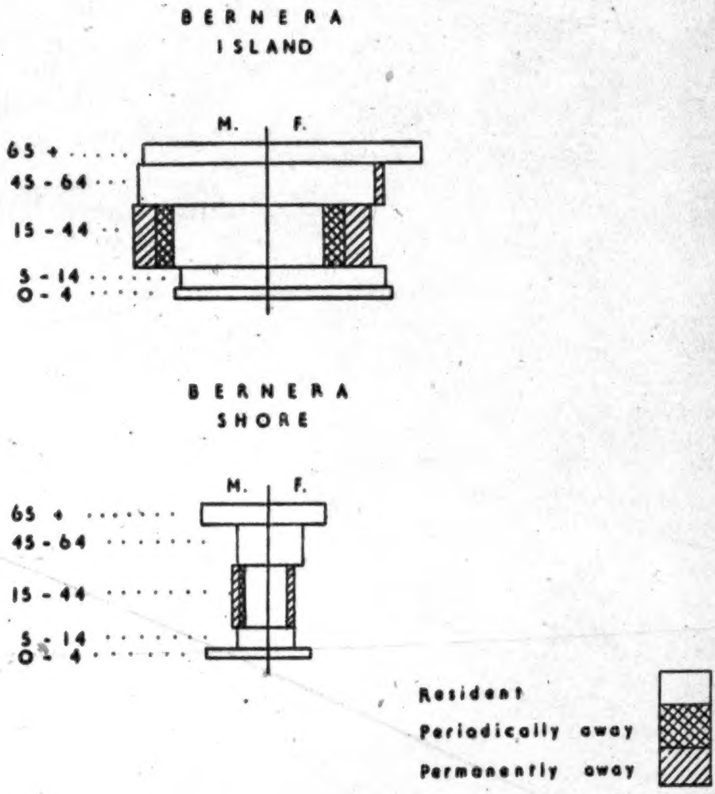

Figure 31

464 his little spare time. In addition there are a few croft holders with periodic employment. It is noteworthy that the incidence of employment bears no direct relationship to the size of croft holding - there is not, for example, a preponderance of holders of small crofts taking permanent employment. *

162 464 However, the croft holders are not the only source of labour: Appendix C(4) shows that there is a total force of fairly regular labour for the crofts amounting to 147, or rather less than half the total resident population. Of these, 78 undertake regular employment, 24 have employment on occasion, and thus only 45 are full-time, of whom 25 are [288] [226] over 65. The forms of employment are indicated on Appendix D(2); weaving, with 49 persons regularly involved, is by far the most important single source of full-time employment, the only other being fishing (24 persons). Estate work (mostly gamekeepers, ghillies, etc. at Grimersta Lodge) gives regular employment to ten persons in the townships of the Shore. No other form of employment accounts for more than three residents between 15 and 65 years of age; the category 'casual' covers a variety of unskilled labour and there are five non-employable invalids.

288 [283] About 50 households, out of 130, have looms. Yarn is distributed by the Stornoway producers for weaving on commission; they collect, finish, and market the cloth. Hand spinning has all but died out and such yarn is more likely to be used for handknitting than for weaving; at least one lady supplements her income in this way. There is some evidence that Bernera weavers receive less work than those more accessible to Stornoway; the reason for this may lie partly in individual contacts between weavers and producers, and partly in the particular skills of particular weavers but transport is an important factor. Such a small isolated group of weavers does not justify frequent journeys by the Stornoway vans; in fact most yarn is put out, and tweeds collected, by a weekly carrier.

Table 31

Fishing in Bernera District 1892-1956

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226
435

	Numbers engaged:		Value of Catch:
	Boats:	Men:	
1892	39	133	?
1900	36	164	?
1913	39	163	£1,300
1920	36	151	£1,400
1930	27	145	£670
1938	33	114	£699
1948	40	84	£2,850
1956	25	26	£4,949

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Not all the boats returned were necessarily engaged in regular fishing. Nor is the value of the catch shown necessarily attributable entirely to Bernera.

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* Editorial Note: this is an inevitable result of the rigid structure of crofter landholdings. See Part I, page 30 and table 12. The age of the crofter, and his family circumstances are decisive.

TABLE 32

Some Changes in Stock and Population

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	POPULATION		CATTLE(1)		SHEEP(1)	
	1891	1959	1883(2)	1959	1883(2)	1959
Breaclete	84	53	53	25	215	462
Croir	3	18	?(3)	11	?(3)	270
Hacklete	122	90	143	52	449	985
Kirkibost	148	79	89	49	290	916
Tobson	178	71	116	36	534	610
ISLAND	535	311	401	173	1,488	3,243
Earshader	24	32	20	7	109	317
Crulivig	72	26	25	14	116	406
Lundale	-	19	26	11	368	538
Linshader	10	22	20(4)	8	2,000(4)	534

Notes: (1) More than one year old.
(2) According to the evidence to the Napier Commission (except Linshader).
(3) Included in Linshader.
(4) According to local memory.

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The Population of Bernera (island only)

1841 : 474
1851 : 518
1861 : 453
1871 : 539
1881 : 596
1891 : 535
1901 : 580

1911 : 730
1921 : 605
1931 : 514
1939 ca.500
1951 : 384
1959 : 311

28 South Uig and Park seem to suffer in the same way even th[illegible] the larger producers,
434 mostly mills, endeavour to distribute weaving equally to all districts. The weavers'
earnings vary from individual to individual, according to the amount of work they get, and
also from year to year according to the fortunes of the trade, especially of the American
export trade. A good weaver, in a good year, might earn from £400 to £500 but an
average weaver, in an average year in Bernera, probably earns between £250 and £300,
whereas in the Carloway district (more accessible to producers based in Stornoway and
Shawbost), the comparable figure is around £400. Most weavers try to maintain con-
nections with several producers and this difference in earnings may be between those who
obtain additional work for 'small-producers' (i.e. tweed merchants who do not spin their
own yarn), and those who do not.

228 Fishing has greatly declined since the late nineteenth century (table 31), neither white
fish nor herring are of any significance, nor do Bernera men contribute significantly to
226 the island's economy by working on east coast boats, as was formerly the case. But
Bernera has become one of the most important centres of Scottish lobster fishing, the
433 value of landings having increased from £983 in 1937 to £4,949 in 1956. There are six
locally owned lobster boats and others use the facilities at Kirkiboat. The vessels
generally have seven to a crew (c.f. the usual five in Sutherland) and work the whole length
of the Atlantic coast and out to the Flannan Islands and St. Kilda. They carry 100 to 160
lobster pots and may also catch ling; crabs are almost entirely ignored because they are
difficult to transport to the distant, mostly English, markets.

One very important factor in the present prosperity of the Bernera lobster fishing is the Kirkiboat lobster pond. This was built by a local crofter in the 1920's. It was closed during the war, and was afterwards taken over by the Crofters' Supply Agency, though the original proprietor is still employed whole-time in looking after the pond and re-fishing the lobsters. There is naturally some loss of fish in the pond, and when high prices are being obtained at Oban the local fishers feel rather disgruntled at their less favourable market here. Hence, if there is a good catch, say over 2,000 lbs to a boat, and reasonably good weather prevails, the lobsters may be taken straight to Oban where up to twice the local price may be obtained. The C.S.A. pay 2s less per lb than Oban because of the cost of the upkeep of the pond, and the wages for two men with their boat. There was an experiment in flying lobsters direct from Lewis to Billingsgate, but the cost was too high. The problems of isolation here are very severe for the lobsters have to be sent by Macbrayne's steamer and by British Railways upon which there are no cold wagons reserved for the small quantities in question - a hazardous course for a highly perishable cargo.

Conclusions.

This part of Uig, therefore, has had a long and complex history of human settlement,
182 exploitation, and adaptation. Much of the more recent part of this history is vividly
remembered and still plays a part in the making of modern decisions. The sense of kin-
ship and a common past is an important cement of society, for where natural resources
are so limited a mystique of other than a material type is necessary if society is to retain
51 its self-respect. However, the natural resources are indeed so limited that economic
181 self-improvement is extremely difficult. The egalitarian tendencies of Gaelic society and
crofting legislation are not now sufficient to resist the tendencies of the times and to pre-
vent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unfortunately there is
insufficient good land to allow much adjustment without a drastic reduction of population
464 which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. It seems unlikely
that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isolation within Lewis,
the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resources have combined
288 on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the most important
means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics and fashion; fishing
228 is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agriculture remains locally,
and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cultivation (especially
drainage and fertilisation), a better standard of animal husbandry, and more reseeding.
But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection and encouragement:
results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon if the local society
is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofting problem" is as
important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

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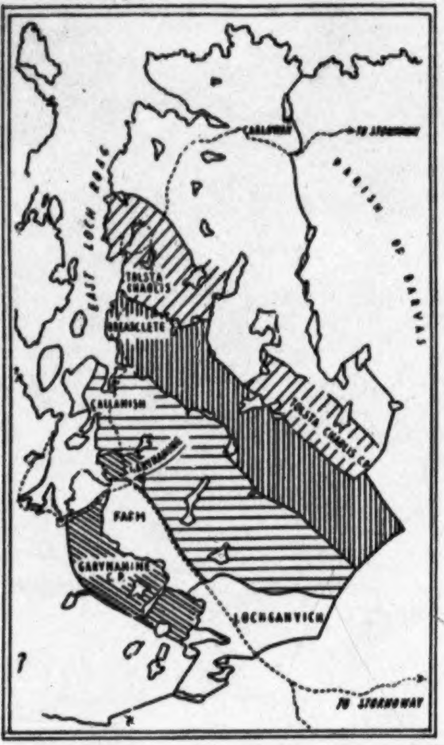
EAST LOCH ROAG
CARLOWAY
TO STORNOWAY
PARISH OF BARVAS
TOLSTA CHAOLIS
BREASCLETE
CALLANISH
TOLSTA CHAOLIS C.P.
GARYNAHINE
FARM
GARYNAHINE C.P.
LOCHGANVICH
7
TO STORNOWAY

Figure 32

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

Table 33

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TOWNSHIP ETC.	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Callanish	237	—— 5,302 ——		57	1	56
Breasclete	374	—— 3,861 ——		63	2	61
Tolsta Chaolis	396	—— 2,700 ——		43	3	43
Garynahine	95	—— 1,824 ——		12	1	12
Lochganvich	67	—— 2,000 ——		8	-	7
Others	506	-	-	-	3	-

CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 Garynahine is a townships of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of
632 Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from
the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is
133 mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the
crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through
134 all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their
crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from
Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side
of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the
crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main
road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the
grazing section.

195 The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935.
On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size
361 i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar
position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain.
This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark
from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread
the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the
neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935
when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of
areas, several coming from Crulivig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The
owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm
was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a
241 private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres
311 are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been
undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction
of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce
good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and
the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct
management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres. In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and 2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhythm of cultivation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants. Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing. Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

231 Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably
continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

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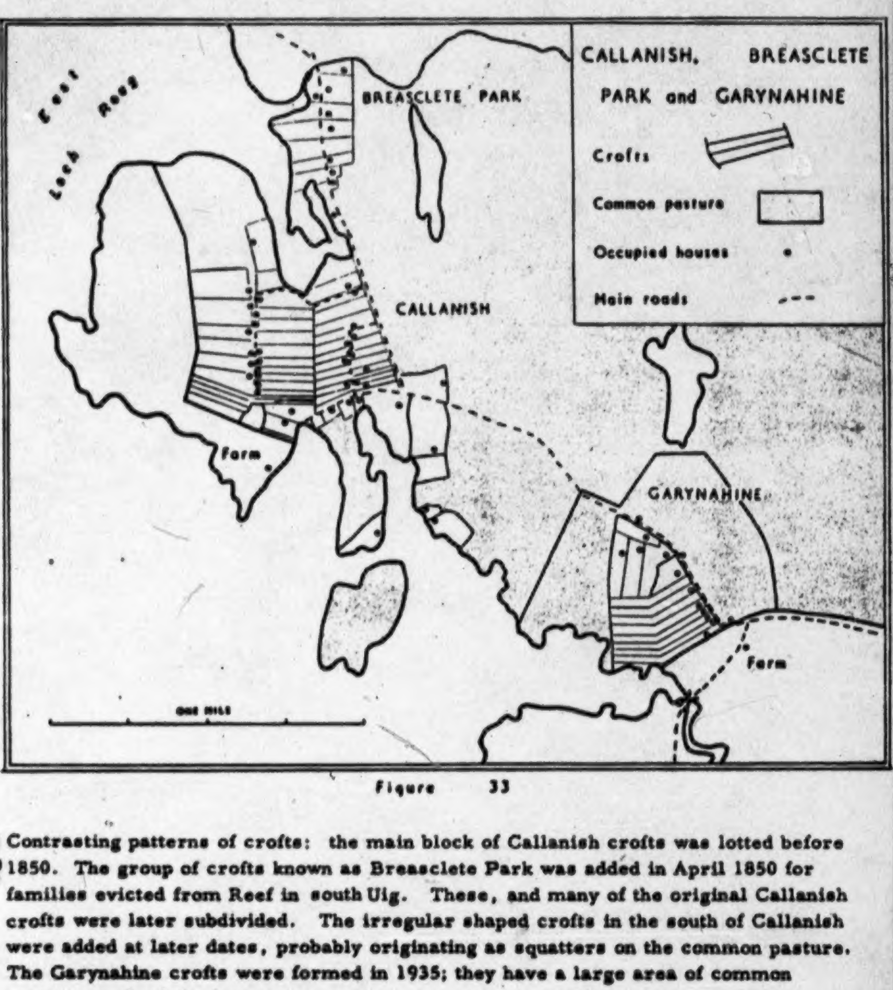
East Loch Roag
BREASCLETE PARK
CALLANISH
Farm
GARYNAHINE
Farm
ONE MILE
CALLANISH, BREASCLETE PARK and GARYNAHINE
Crofts
Common pasture
Occupied houses ●
Main roads - - -

Figure 33

361 Contrasting patterns of crofts: the main block of Callanish crofts was lotted before
178 1850. The group of crofts known as Breasclete Park was added in April 1850 for families evicted from Reef in south Uig. These, and many of the original Callanish crofts were later subdivided. The irregular shaped crofts in the south of Callanish were added at later dates, probably originating as squatters on the common pasture. The Garynahine crofts were formed in 1935; they have a large area of common pasture south of the farm.

231 There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

233 Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters exceed their souming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 377 494 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had electricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

463 [178] There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

172 133 [361] Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide) which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

175 427 361 241 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century, and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertiliser and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

175 361 427 The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

427 311 There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

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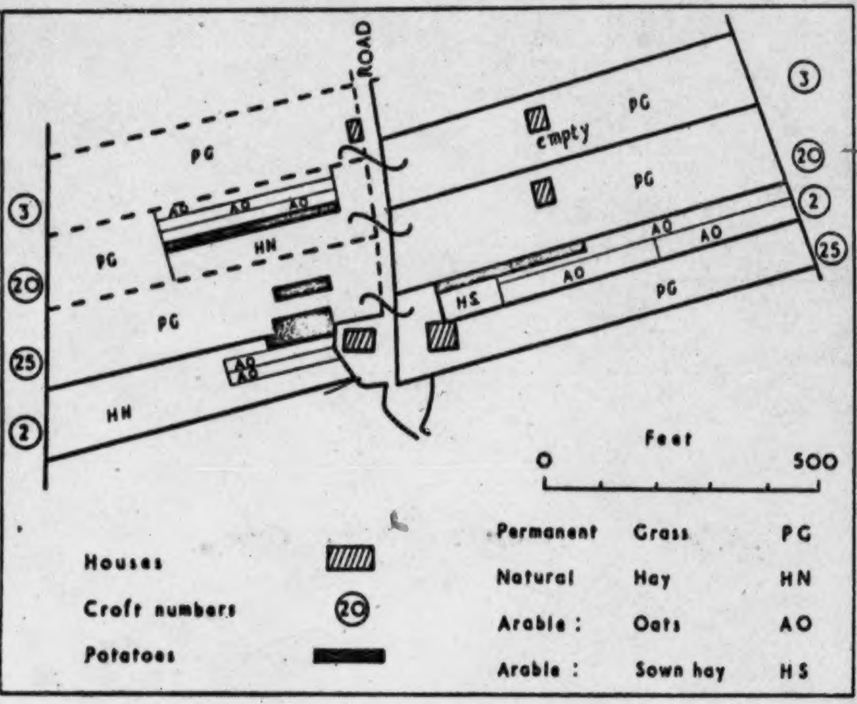
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20
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25
Feet
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500
Houses
▨
Croft numbers
⑳
Potatoes
▬
Permanent Grass PG
Natural Hay HN
Arable : Oats AO
Arable : Sown hay HS

Figure 34

Land-use in four typical crofts in Callanish. Notice that each croft is in two pieces, separated by the road.

427 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For
311 example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost
10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of
195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some
cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady
311 Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close
427 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and 2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Similarly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but 4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of the land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade. The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type shorthorn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep
311 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has the use of the pasture on Orassy island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram
221 per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for
233 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th; in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Flodavat are known to have been in use until 1921.

491 Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and
131 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is
[409] over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft; but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village.
131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important.
[366] There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling
[504] at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who
[505] lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a
604 water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member
of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern
Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
[359] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three
remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well
worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let
to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
[288] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men
weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the
prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
[166] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them
young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and
[161] young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resi-
[162] dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always
been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting
communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided,
427 making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no culti-
vation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad stripes perpendicular to the Breasclete-
Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being
241 grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle
231 is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of
that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over
65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the
133 northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small
westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main
361 Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this
road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished
Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
[494] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but
high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but,
at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses
have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good
weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was installed 354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, alghough a little coal may be used.

427 [361] There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15 acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

311 [178] Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore, part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilisers and reseeded. This experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

[161] [231] Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible, the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the souming which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. 231 The number of cattle kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

221 241 333 [314] The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be out on the moors as the crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65 years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically 000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

Figure 35

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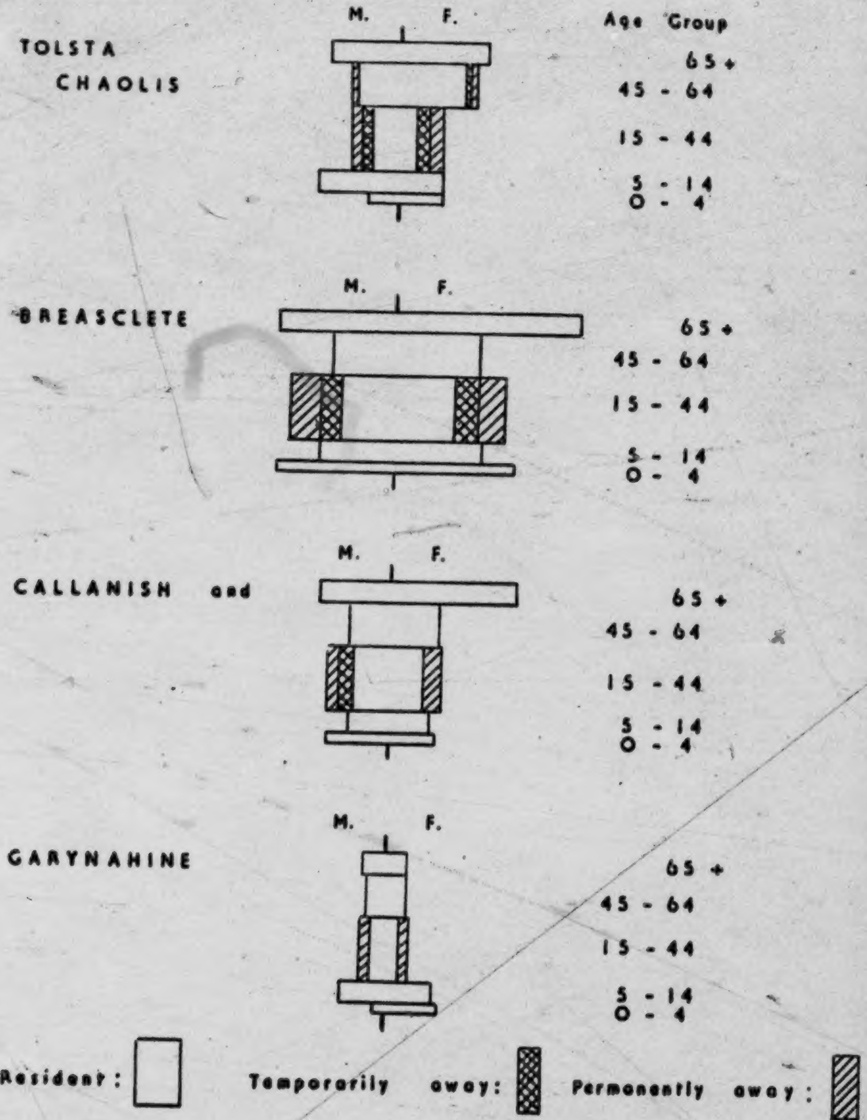
POPULATION: AGE and SEX composition



Since 1939,

166 462 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

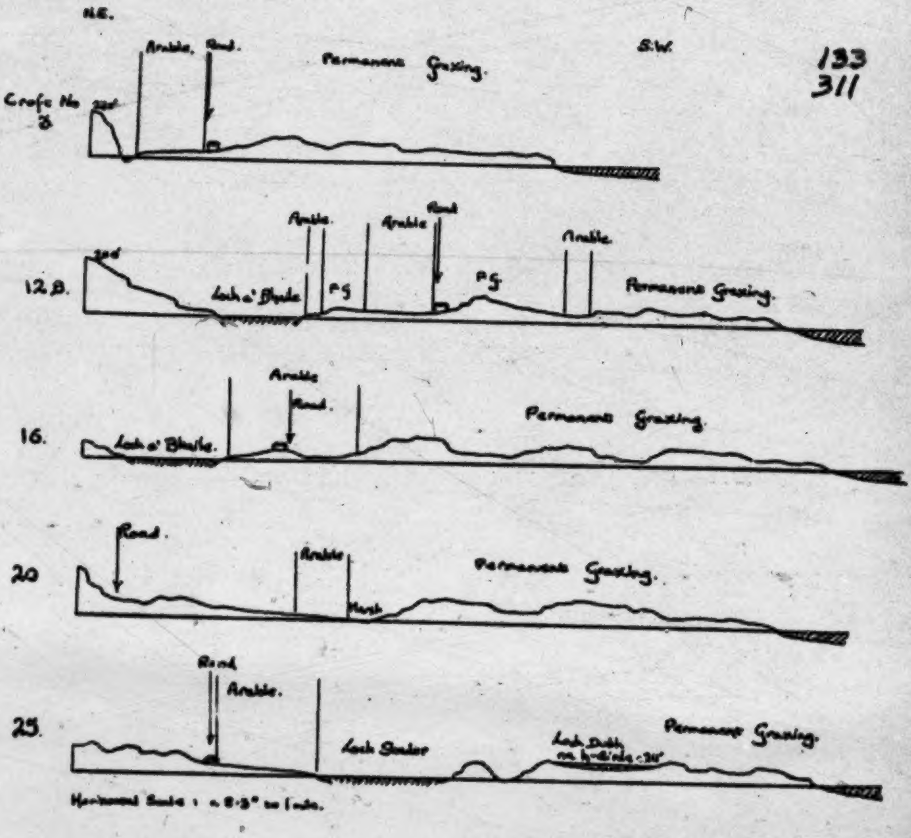
131 133 361 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs, for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 [241] Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 311 427 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 [407] Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]


N.E.
S.W.
Crofts No 3.
220'
Arable.
Road.
Permanent Grazing.
12 B.
Loch a' Bhaile
Arable.
P.G.
Arable
Road
P.G.
Arable.
Permanent Grazing.
16.
Loch a' Bhaile.
Arable
Road.
Permanent Grazing.
20
Road.
Arable
Marsh
Permanent Grazing.
25.
Road
Arable.
Loch Sgailer
Loch Dubh na h-Airde - 311'
Permanent Grazing.
Horizontal Scale: c. 8.3" to 1 mile.

SKETCH SECTIONS OF FIVE REPRESENTATIVE CROFTS:
TOLSTA CHAOLAIS.

R.K.Gomme.

Figure 36.

241 are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively cultivated than ever before, but strips now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses, especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The working of strips nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to 25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

[237] Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some
crofts were using seaweed, in particular nos. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 25 - i.e. those
crofts with easiest access to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the New Year and
[82] trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but too much
labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago
[423] each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (1) The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres whilst the maximum for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass would suggest its further extension, but unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particularly widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One crofter had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst soft fruits are to be planted next year. The two sets of 'run-rig' crofts practise a fixed run-rig with the usual rotation of oats and grass on the strips.

231 In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one
year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters
have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no
[178] bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. With a much smaller number
of cattle than that of thirty years ago there is now no need to make the annual summer
visit to the shielings, a practice which died out in Tolsta Chaolais between 1920 and 1930.
Pastures could however carry three times the present amount of cattle. The souming
233 of 1 cow and 6 sheep per £1 rent is now apparently ignored. The approximate total of
sheep for the township is 1,500 whilst for 1958 it was about 1,470. The total of lambs
was approximately 520 but most crofters found it difficult to give an accurate figure
since some might have been lost on the moor during the summer. The highest number
of breeding ewes for any one croft was 112, of lambs was 34, and of other sheep was 26;
five crofters, however have no sheep at all. Before 1939 a shepherd was employed by the
township when the sheep were sent to the moor. The shepherd was usually a young boy
just left school and was paid by each crofter according to the number of sheep the latter
sent to the moor. . This has been discontinued but a levy, of 5s. per croft and 2½d. per
[231] head of sheep, is made for the upkeep of the township fence. Finally, almost every
crofter keeps at least a dozen poultry.

221
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233 The movement of stock over the grazing areas is summarised as follows:

(1) From November 13th to May 1st. cattle are usually in the byre, depending on the weather, and sheep can wander anywhere. Crofts should be open to common grazing unless all the crofter's stock remains within his own croft boundary.

(2) From May 1st. to May 20th. sheep are in the outer park.

(3) On May 20th. sheep are sent to the moor.

(4) Throughout the summer cattle are in both the inner and the outer parks.

(5) On October 1st. the sheep are brought into the outer park.

(6) On November 13th. the sheep are brought into the inner park.

464 Details of population and employment will be found in Appendix D. It is a very
[463] striking comment on the state of crofting in this township that only four persons are

464 full-time crofters; 19 males have other regular employment and two have periodic
employment. 8 crofters are aged over 65. It seems that the most successful combination
463 of employment is weaving and crofting; weaving is carried on in twenty of the holdings.
Lobster fishing in the evening is still popular but regular small-boat fishing has disappeared:
286 one crofter took up regular fishing when weaving was slack in the autumn of 1958.
224

161 Of a resident population of 125, 32 males and 32 females are between the ages of 15
162 and 64, these representing the effective labour force. Thirteen persons are temporarily
away and 16 permanently away whilst at least 46 have emigrated since 1939 and 6 have
166 immigrated. Thus the number that have emigrated is nearly three times the number that
are merely permanently away. With a population of 125 and an effective labour force of
64 to work 35 operative units Tolsta Chaolais would seem to be far from a dying township.

131 If not exactly progressive the township economy seems stable and moderately pros-
perous, in spite of the fact that the settlement is rather inaccessible, for the roads which
181 join the Carloway-Breasclete road are both very steep and have bad corners. To add to
the apparent isolation there is only one Post Office-shop in the village but most commodities
000 are bought from vans. A reallocation of the smaller crofts to younger, more ambitious
tenants at the deaths of the older tenants could reduce the number of operative units to
about 25. Admittedly, little can be done with the rougher terrain, and although cattle
stocks could be increased there would be the added problem of sufficient winter feed. With
better drainage more land could be taken into cultivation - especially between the two
lochs, an area largely wasted at the moment - whilst weaving might supply a surer source
of income, especially in the winter. Tourism on a small scale might be a further
possibility for the coastal scenery is very fine and the immediate setting of the village is
very attractive. It would be more realistic however for Tolsta Chaolais to find future
prosperity within its own boundaries.

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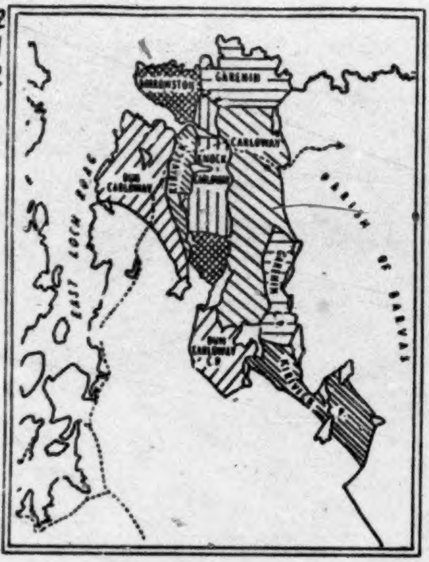
BORROWSTON
GARENIN
CARLOWAY
KNOCK CARLOWAY
DUN CARLOWAY
KIRIVICK
GARENIN C.P.
DUN CARLOWAY C.P.
KIRIVICK
EAST LOCH ROAG
PARISH OF BARVAS

Figure 37

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

C.P.: detached common pasture (shielings)

Table 34

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427
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TOWNSHIP ETC.		INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES:		AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS:		CROFTER TENANTS:
			Adjacent:	Detached:	Crofts:	Other:	
		(acres)	(acres)	(acres)	(No.)	(No.)	(No.)
Dun Carloway		194	----- 2,219 -----		24	6	22
Kirivick		81	495	281	14	2	13
Knock Carloway	(a)	156	643	720	33	-	30
	(b)	23	-	-	-	7	-
Carloway	(a)	234	1,234	1,139	59	-	58
	(b)	43	-	-	-	18	-
Borroston		54	516	320	16	-	16
Garenin		111	994	825	28	2	27

Note: Where there is a large area of non-crofting holdings (feus, allotments, cottars or squatters) this is shown separately against (b).

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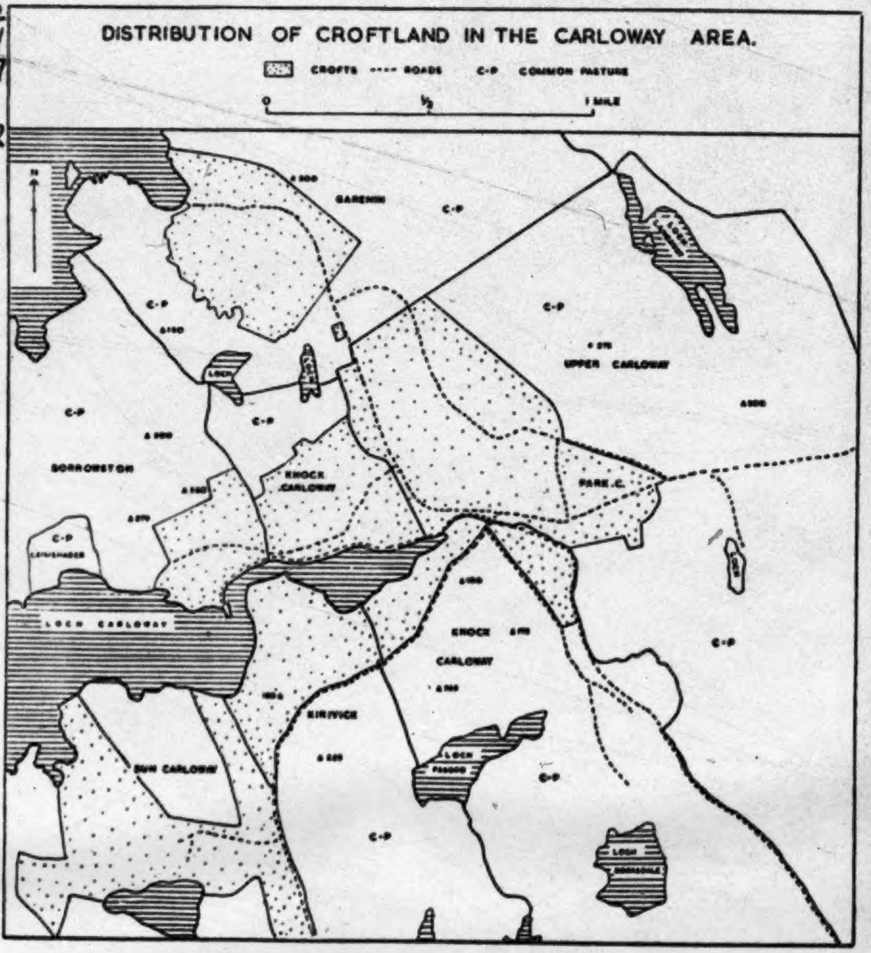
DISTRIBUTION OF CROFTLAND IN THE CARLOWAY AREA.
CROFTS
ROADS
C-P COMMON PASTURE
0
½
1 MILE
GARENIN
C-P
UPPER CARLOWAY
BORROWSTON
KNOCK CARLOWAY
PARK.C.
LOCH CARLOWAY
KNOCK CARLOWAY
KIRIVICK
DUN CARLOWAY
LOCH
LOCH

Figure 38

/p. 98/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughborough

131 The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston,
133 Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the
north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian
[103] gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively
developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to determine
361 the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the northwest of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east
133 where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short
steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor or other mechanised implements.

131 The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of
Upper Garloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are
131 occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common
311 pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to feecue and
close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in Upper Carloway 1.9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the loch in both Knock and Upper Carloway areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by lines of reeds.

361 **Settlement.** The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way the effects of the distrinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settlement.

361 The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occu-
pation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about
175 1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little
clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses werescattered,
each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then
361 no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent
401 of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the
178 modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

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* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

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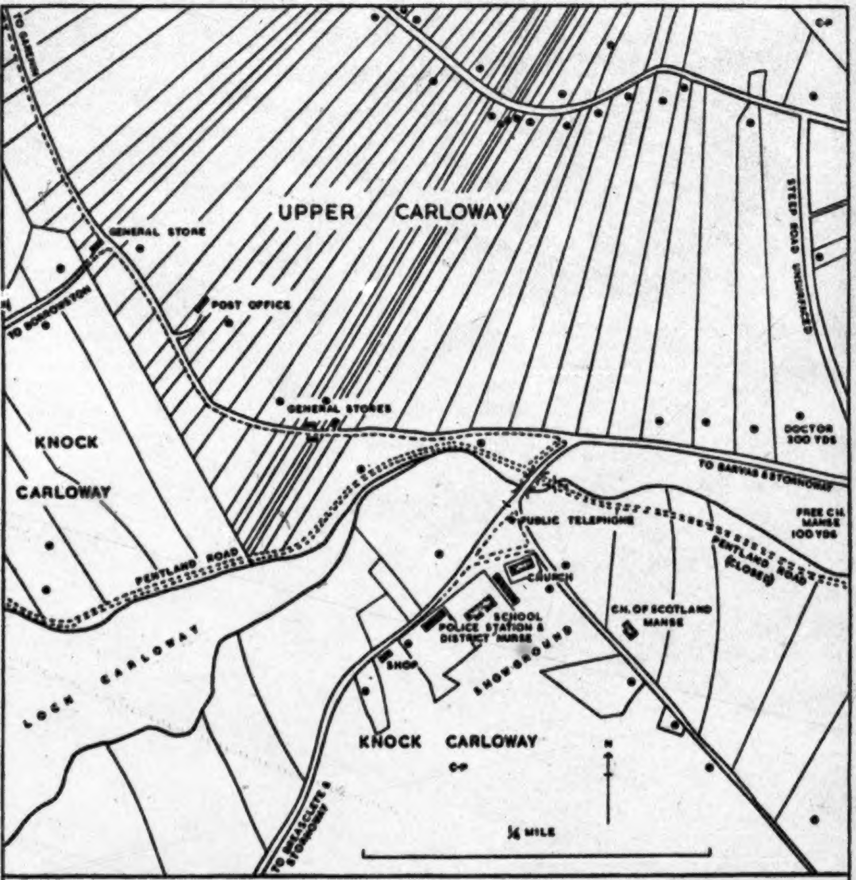
TO GARENIN
C-P
UPPER CARLOWAY
GENERAL STORE
TO BORROWSTON
POST OFFICE
STEEP ROAD UNSURFACED
KNOCK
CARLOWAY
GENERAL STORES
DOCTOR
300 YDS
TO BARVAS & STORNOWAY
PUBLIC TELEPHONE
FREE CH.
MANSE
100 YDS
PENTLAND ROAD
PENTLAND ROAD
(CLOSED)
CHURCH
C-P
SCHOOL
POLICE STATION &
DISTRICT NURSE
CH. OF SCOTLAND
MANSE
SHOWGROUND
SHOP
LOCH CARLOWAY
KNOCK CARLOWAY
C-P
N
TO BREASCLETE & STORNOWAY
¼ MILE

MAP SHOWING THE CONCENTRATION OF ROUTES AND COMMUNITY SERVICES AT THE HEAD OF LOCH CARLOWAY

● OCCUPIED HOUSES C-P COMMON PASTURE ——— CROFT BOUNDARIES.

/p. 100/

Figure 39

361 and across the croft boundaries and it is along these that the majority of the houses are
491 to be found so that as the roads followed the easiest course open to them so the settlement
178 has moved to the roads.

A particularly interesting example of this kind can be drawn from Upper Carloway where a twofold movement of settlements has taken place; first, from about 150 feet above sea level, where the original black houses were built, there was an uphill movement to the upper of the two roads which cross the township at from 150 to 170 feet above sea level, and, secondly (and more recently), there has been a move to build at from 25 to 30 feet above sea level along the lower road which has become the main axis for the public
342 services. Three main types of building exist then in this township. The first is the blackhouse of which only one or two now remain. Even these are not the primitive type of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group which includes buildings erected during the later years of the fishing boom and in the period up to the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied often with the traditional dormer windows; they form the majority. Finally there is the development of the modern bungalows which are built by the crofters but based on plans supplied by the Department of Agriculture. Few have ventured to build away from the level of the lower road.

342 How then does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the temporary
178 prosperity of the fishing enabled the crofters to build the better houses. These have seen great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and improved by their owners whilst others remain without additions almost as they were when first built. That the crofter owns his own house has certainly encouraged replacement
[654] in recent times. The generous grants and loans provided by the Department of Agriculture have been utilised to construct the modern bungalows on crofts where the original croft house stands as a byre and where the second house is sometimes inhabited by some relative or person who sublets part of the croft. It is rare to see such successive phases so close together in a landscape.reflecting the varying fortunes of economic enterprise and the influence of government subsidies now so much a part of the life of the crofting township.

Roads and public services.

491 Carloway's importance as a centre for West Lewis is accounted for by the fact that at the break in the coastline caused by East Loch Roag the main road southwards from Barvas turns inland to Breasclete. Near the point where it crosses the Carloway river at Carloway bridge it is joined by a number of local township roads creating a focus for community services (figure 38).[1] Here also the line of the still unfinished 'Pentland' road, projected as a direct link with Stornoway during the fishing boom, reaches Loch Carloway and passes along its north shore to the pier at Borrowston. This substantial pier was the scene of great activity during the period of commercial fishing before the First World War.

368 The six hundred residents of the immediate Carloway area are served by eight travel-
ling shops as well as by the local stores. Bread, fish, meat, green-groceries, library
[494] and bank all come to the end of the croft if not to the crofter's door. Of the vans one is based on Carloway, one on Breasclete and the rest on Stornoway. A mobile film unit
[162] visits once each fortnight. The churches and school rightly reflect their importance in the community by the commanding position which they occupy just above the bridge. Here too is the showground; the annual show attracts people from all over the island, being as much a social as an agricultural gathering. Other services are more dispersed but not far away. They include doctor and district nurse, policeman, post office, and football

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 103]

[1] [Presumably the author means figure 39--Analyst]

The Agricultural Year in the Carloway District.

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Month	General	Land	Cattle	Sheep
January and February	Preparation of land. Ditching.		In byres - out on fine days.	On crofts and inner common pasture.
March		Ploughing and manuring.	On crofts and inner common pasture.	FANK - dipping. Put on outer common pasture.
April	Peat cutting.	Sowing oats. Sowing potatoes. Cleaning potatoes.	Sales.	
May	Lifting peat.			
June	Peat taken to roads.	Cultivating.		
July	Little croft work until late in July or early August.	Hay cutting and drying.		
August	Bringing home peat.	Oats cut and dried.		FANKS - for shearing and weaning.
September		Grain and hay brought to stack enclosure and byre.	Sales.	
October		Lifting the potatoes.	Cattle brought into byres.	Brought to crofts and inner common pasture. Dipping and tupping.
November and December	Little croft work.		Feeding in byres; outside when possible.	

Figure 40.

368 ground. Some of these provide for a much larger area and indeed the policeman serves the whole of the parish of Uig. Three buses per day in each direction operating on a circular route provide transport to Stornoway.

UPPER CARLOWAY

427 133 The township comproses 51 registered crofts and 28 feus and allotments which are situated on the drift covered slope which rises from the head of Loch Carloway. The crofts are each about half a mile in length and from 5 to 25 yards in width aligned up and downslope. The lowest portion of the croftland is just above sea level and the highest approaches 225 feet O. D. The key crofts are numbers 30 and 31 whose boundaries come to a point thus enabling the crofts to be accommodated on the arcuate hill face. In the east are the crofts of Park Carloway which were lotted at a later date than the main area of croftland (numbers 1 to 40).

Only two crofts are fragmented ('fixed runrig'), these occupy lowlying hummocky land near the river where fencing would be difficult. Elsewhere fencing has been almost completed between the roads, but above the upper road fencing is less common, usually only being undertaken by the more enterprising crofters with more promising land; the bare rock surface of crofts 9 and 10 precludes any such attempt there. Almost all the fencing has taken place since 1946.

427 311 The 51 crofts and 28 feus and allotments are operated in 56 working agricultural units. The total land reputed arable 134.4 acres and the outrun 82.65 acres which gives a total fo 217.05 acres of individually held ('croft') land. The method of working is controlled by the relationship of slope, soil and elevation. Three zones may be distinguished, namely

(1) Below the road;

- a) well drained and fairly accessible,
- b) poorly drained and often far from the croft house

(2) Between the roads: a main zone of cultivation

(3) Above the main road an upper zone

- a) with bare rock and thin soil
- b) drift covered - similar in character to (2), but more exposed

Crofts 1 - 32 occupy all three zones
" 33 - 40 and 46 occupy zones (2) and (3)
" 49 is in zone (2)
" 41 and 42 are in zone (1)a and are in 'fixed runrig'.

241 [407] In nearly all parts of these zones it is possible to use a tractor and so the cultivation of oats and cutting of hay is accomplished. It is usual to work the potatoes by horse, but only one man preferred to do all his ploughing by horse. This widespread use of the tractor is in marked contrast to the townships southeast of the Loch where it is almost impossible to use the tractor in many places. The significance of this in the contrasts in methods and efficiency need hardly be emphasised.

461 Life in a crofting township is governed by a very distinctive pattern of working that is so strong that it even influences the operations of the mills in Stornoway, for each crofter, if he continues to work his croft fully, must take time off for the communal operations such as the shearing or dipping of the sheep and inevitably at certain times of the year he will be anxious to work the croft. The table attempts to set out the pattern of the agricultural year in this group of townships (Figure 40).

241 Oats are the main fodder crop and although the practice of undersowing is not familiar it is increasing with the incentive of cultivation grants. Potatoes are the other major crop, the main crop being Kerr's Pink and the 'earlies' several varieties. Domestic gardens, common to nearly all the crofts, grow cabbages and carrots. Turnips only succeed occasionally and there were many reports of poor yields. Two crofters had grown sugar beet successfully for fodder but did not see much future for it.

Sown grasses are being used increasingly and several areas of varied quality were noticed ranging from an indifferent field of Italian rye grass that had been down for five years to mixtures recommended by the Agricultural Advisor. These mixtures are used in rotations thus:- oats - potatoes - oats - sown grass - sown grass - sown grass. Some surface reseeding has been attempted and has succeeded on the crofts but none has yet been tried upon the common pasture, which is shared with Park Carloway. The chief problem has been that of finding a suitable area readily accessible to all the crofts. With the example of Breasclete and some of the townships in Ness in mind all agree that reseeding would be beneficial.*

Fertilisers are used on all the crofts and a clear pattern of their use emerged. With the obvious exception of dung the traditional types of fertiliser have been abandoned. Only one person uses shell sand in preference to lime for normal crops. For surface reseeding sand is obtained from the north west coast though transport costs are high. Good reports were given of regular liming, the only dissenter significantly having his croft by the river. [654] Seaweed is not now in use though there were good reports of its value; labour, to obtain it was not available. With the incentive of the cultivation grants there is a regular application of blended artificial fertilisers by the majority of holders.

The Carloway hill common has not been cultivated within living memory but the cultivation of every possible piece of croft land was remembered by many. Several crofters recalled the period before the First World War when all cultivation was by spade 233 alone. The abandonment of the shielings some forty years ago reflects the decrease in cattle stocks; the smaller the numbers of cattle the less important is it to obtain additional grazing during the summer so that the croft land may recover from the winter and spring grazing. All that remains of the shielings are small, almost circular, mounds [178] of stones surrounded by a green sward. The decrease in cattle stocks, then three times larger than now, and the primitive life of the shielings are probably the chief reasons for their demise.

A comparison of the percentages of the souming taken up reveals this decline in cattle and the relative and absolute increase in sheep stocks. On six of the forty one units on the crofts the total souming is exceeded, one is at par and the rest are understocked. The sheep figures show a slightly different situation; eight of the forty one are exceeding their souming, two are at par and the rest are below, but not far below, if sheep are kept at all; but, whereas only six of the fifty six total units have no cattle, twenty three are without sheep (14 crofts and 9 feus). For an analysis of the statistics for the whole area see tables I, II, & III. The most interesting feature of the comparative figures is the figure for sheep, for in spite of the fact that Park Carloway has an excess of sheep, the joint figures do not exceed the total joint souming for the townships.

CARLOWAY PARK

361
427 In contrast with the excessive elongation of the crofts in Upper Carloway those of Park Carloway form compact blocks. Another unusual feature is that when the crofts were lotted five field drains per croft were laid at a depth of eighteen inches; this may have something to do with the good quality of the land. Nineteen acres of croft land is worked in five effective units that form a distinct block of cultivation. Croft 6, which

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* In 1960 and 1962 172 acres of common pasture were reseeded.

361 427 is attached to the Free Church Manse, is sublet to two feuars and is used entirely for hay. One remarkably well stocked croft has one horse, two cows in milk, one calf and a heifer together with a sheep stock of twenty breeding ewes, twenty lambs and twenty other sheep (this was the first 100% lambing for many years). Labour is provided by one full time crofter with assistance from two others one of whom is a weaver. On another croft an elderly lady was preparing to make an application for a cultivation grant.

241 The intensity of cultivation may be attributed to two factors; first the sheltered position of the land, the moderate slope and good drainage and second to the energy and enterprise of the crofters.

BORROWSTON

361 427 Borrowston exhibits many of the characteristics that have been noted in Upper Carloway and which are common on the north west of Loch Carloway. It consists of sixteen registered crofts and there are no feus. The crofts were lotted in narrow strips which rise steeply from the western shore of Loch Carloway to a head dyke at about 200 feet O. D. The drift cover thins as the ground rises until an upper zone with exposures of bare rock is reached. The result is that most of the cultivation takes place below the road which passes through the croft land and along which the settlement is located. All the crofts are fenced below the road, but are only partly fenced above it, presenting a pattern similar to that at Upper Carloway. Because of the steepness of the crofts the only way that the tractor can gain access to the land is by way of the lower road which passes from the bridge to the pier.

241 Fifty four acres of croftland are worked in fourteen operative units on which the oats are cultivated by tractor and the potatoes by spade. Though all the crofts have immediate access to the shore none are fertilised with seaweed at the present time; following the common practice in the area artificial fertilisers are used to supplement lime and manure 233 from the byres. None of the crofts are open for common grazing in the winter; this is because of the use of the old farm of Laimshader, granted to the township as an enlargement . The former arable land is now used as additional common pasture. The normal practice is to use the former farm land in conjunction with the croft land in the summer, the cattle being maintained on Laimshader as late in the season as is possible.

241 [162] Borrowston is intensively cultivated, presenting a prosperous picture when viewed from the opposite shore of the loch, but in spite of its apparent prosperity the majority of the population is over 45 years of age. Herein lies one of the main causes of concern in this part of Uig parish, for though Carloway is in many ways more prosperous than is 181 south Uig and has a larger and more active population working in much more favourable conditions, the population is an aging one that has not the potential for maintaining a [162] level of replacement. In Borrowston eight of the crofters depend on weaving, four are full-time crofters and seven of the twelve are over sixty five. Yet these men are active and maintain large sheep stocks, ten of the twelve exceeding their souming though only one of them has an excess of cattle.

233 427 Figure 40[1] has been drawn to illustrate the land use on particular crofts in this northwestern area; one is in Borrowston and one is in Upper Carloway. The stock data have also been added to give the complete picture of the agricultural unit. Each croft though prosperous, has an elderly tenant.

GARENIN

361 427 The township of Garenin, whose main area of croftland is situated a little apart from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[1] [Presumably the author means figure 41--Analyst]

Figure 41.

102
233
241
311
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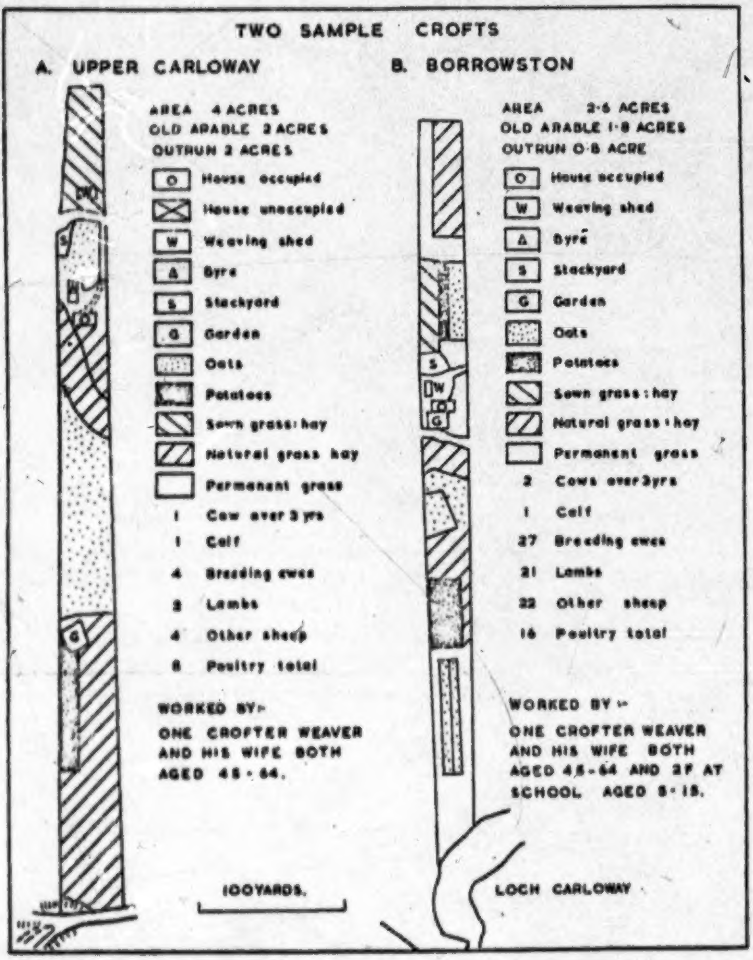
TWO SAMPLE CROFTS
A. UPPER CARLOWAY
AREA 4 ACRES
OLD ARABLE 2 ACRES
OUTRUN 2 ACRES
O House occupied
House unoccupied
W Weaving shed
Δ Byre
S Stackyard
G Garden
Oats
Potatoes
Sown grass: hay
Natural grass hay
Permanent grass
1 Cow over 3 yrs
1 Calf
4 Breeding ewes
2 Lambs
4 Other sheep
8 Poultry total
WORKED BY:-
ONE CROFTER WEAVER AND HIS WIFE BOTH AGED 45-64.
100YARDS.
B. BORROWSTON
AREA 2·6 ACRES
OLD ARABLE 1·8 ACRES
OUTRUN 0·8 ACRE
O House occupied
W Weaving shed
Δ Byre
S Stackyard
G Garden
Oats
Potatoes
Sown grass: hay
Natural grass: hay
Permanent grass
2 Cows over 3yrs
1 Calf
27 Breeding ewes
21 Lambs
22 Other sheep
16 Poultry total
WORKED BY:-
ONE CROFTER WEAVER AND HIS WIFE BOTH AGED 45-64 AND 2F AT SCHOOL AGED 5-15.
LOCH CARLOWAY
S
W
O
G

361 427 the main area of cultivation at the head of Loch Carloway, is similarly divided into long narrow crofts which traverse the broad valley which falls to the sea from the low watershed marking the boundaries of Upper Carloway, Borroston and Garenin. The settlement is to be found on either side of the road which rises from the bay to join the two major township roads of Upper Carloway.

181 427 The township has a very individual character, especially at the seaward end which is exposed to violent winds and spray in the winter and where the dwellings are mostly black houses. Tenanted by old ladies two of these are partly sublet and the future seems to suggest that a complete subletting will take place, which contrasts with the activity of many of the other crofters in the township. One man was prepared to carry all the fertiliser for the croft on his back because it was impossible to gain access for the tractor.

427 311 The twenty eight crofts, one feu and one allotment are worked in twenty five units. Extensive improvements have been made on two crofts with the introduction of sown grasses in their rotations. A general increase in fencing is now taking place with the consequent closure of the crofts which were formerly open for common grazing in the winter. By far the most striking feature in the figures gathered for the township are those for the sheep stock. Although the total souming for all stock is not quite reached, the sheep soum is exceeded by 60.3%. This does not worry the crofters one of whom spoke of a 'natural souming' pointing to the fact that the total souming was not exceeded and he continued that 'If the land is overstocked animals die'; this they do all too frequently. The assertion seems to be based on the belief that the equivalence of one cow equals three or even five sheep gives an accurate assessment of the potential of the grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses does not bear this out. That sheep eat a different herbage and in a different manner to cattle seems to be either unknown or is ignored.

[286] [161] [162] The whole agricultural operation of the township is complicated by its situation; long journeys were necessary to go to the shielings and are still needed for bringing home the peats. Once again the emphasis is on weaving as an occupation and many of these people are ageing. It is a measure of the decline in the population that now only fifteen children go to school whereas one crofter could remember up to fifty in the school before the First War.

000 The main features which emerge from this examination of the townships to the north west of Loch Carloway may be summed up quite briefly. The croftland is a compact area of well cultivated land on the even slopes which rise to over 200 ft. O.D. It is divided into long narrow holdings which ensures that each has a fair share of the different types of land. Careful attention to much of the land shows that this is far from being a dying community. In spite of the defects which can be noted in the animal husbandry, the decreased population and the reduced number of working units (a result of the subletting) could allow of a much more efficient working than does take place at the present time. The potential is there. Carloway has many of the basic social services which help to stabilise a community and with the advantage of its strategic position the concentration of settlement could be assured if additional employment and/or more efficient agricultural methods could be adopted.

KNOCK CARLOWAY

133 [181] 361 [427] If the north west presents a picture of relative prosperity the area to the south may be described as one that is showing signs of decay and decline. Knock Carloway itself occupies part of the area with less evenly graded slopes (although a westerly outlier of the township extends to the northern flank of Loch Carloway). The eastern section rises steeply to a rocky crest which marks the beginning of the common pasture. In consequence the crofts are less regular than those already described and three are worked in 'fixed runrig' with a pattern of much more fragmented cultivation. Situated on the lowest shoulder of the ridge are the churches and school close to the road junction

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

Figure 42.

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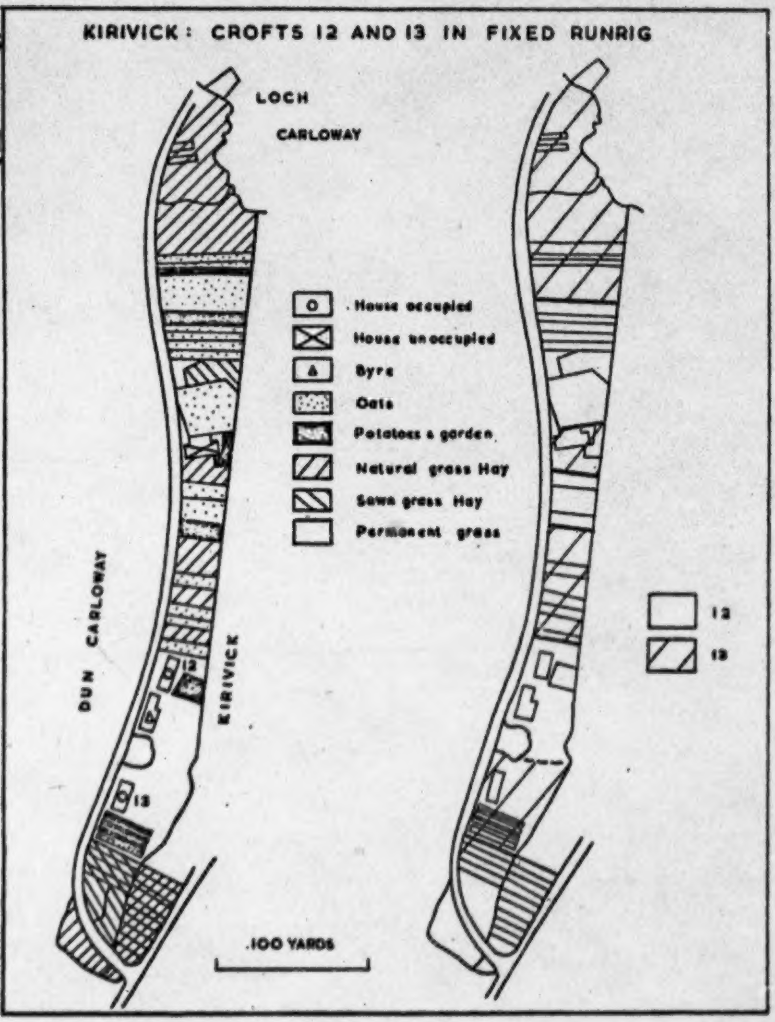
KIRIVICK: CROFTS 12 AND 13 IN FIXED RUNRIG
LOCH
CARLOWAY
House occupied
House unoccupied
Byre
Oats
Potatoes & garden
Natural grass Hay
Sown grass Hay
Permanent grass
DUN CARLOWAY
KIRIVICK
12
13
100 YARDS
12
13

361 at Carloway Bridge. In addition to the main settlement which is irregularly disposed on either side of the two roads, a group of Swedish timber Council houses has been built in a somewhat forbidding situation on the common pasture adjoining the 'Pentland' road.

427 311 The thirty three registered crofts and thirteen feus or allotments (of which only five are non-agricultural) are worked in thirty four units. Three of the tenants of the Swedish houses have crofts, two in Knock Carloway and one in Upper Carloway.

311 The land use figures show that Knock Carloway has a much greater percentage of permanent grass than has Borrowston on the opposite shore of the loch. These figures reflect not only the less rewarding physical environment on the south shore, but also the lower intensity of cultivation which bears a direct relationship to the type, number and quality of the stock. The township has less than the total number of animals permitted by the souming though the higher figure for sheep than cattle reflects the general trend for the area. No horses are kept but the township has the bull which serves the area - a privately owned beef-shorthorn.

464 286 632 Weaving remains the major occupation but the emphasis is less heavy than in the other townships for the community services centred here employ a number of the inhabitants. It may be that here lies part of the answer to the problems of the community as a whole: but even if employment in services were to be increased it could never be very significant in a district with a total population of only 600.

KIRIVICK

361 162 133 Adjoining Knock Carloway is the small township of Kirivick which has forty one permanent residents. It occupies the least rewarding agricultural environment of the area. Crofts 1 to 13 rise from the shore of Loch Carloway on the broken hill face to the Carloway-Breasclete road, whilst number 14 occupies the head of a small valley which was once part of the common pasture beyond the road.

361 133 The houses are set back from the road occasionally sheltering in the lee of the frequent knolls of bare rock which are exposed on the croft land. These rock surfaces together with the irregular deposition of the drift account for the fragmentation of the cultivated strips in small hand-dug lazy beds on the upper parts of the crofts inaccessible to the tractor.

361 427 311 There are fourteen crofts, three feus and one squatter settlement and all but two of these are fenced. Two of the crofts are held in 'fixed runrig' and the small sections in which the land is cultivated are shown in figure 41[1] which also illustrates the regular distribution of sections between the two. Though it used to be the normal practice the crofts are not now open to common grazing in the winter.

311 The restricted amount of land available for common grazing ensured the continued use of the shielings until 1939; small patches were cultivated on the common grazing about forty years ago and this fact too is the only recorded instance of a practice that was a community by the size of the working unit and the land available. At the moment there is no proposal for reseeding of any part of the common pasture* because of the difficulty of getting access for tractors. As in the case of Knock Carloway the total souming is not exceeded, but the sheep stock is 25% above the sheep soum.

162 The population figures emphasise the problem of the whole of this southern area and here is the most extreme case of incipient decline. There are two fulltime crofters, six crofters who weave and five crofters over sixty five. Seventy per cent of the population is over 45 and only two children attend the school neither of whom is likely to take up crofting.

[1] [Figure 42--Analyst]

Figure 43

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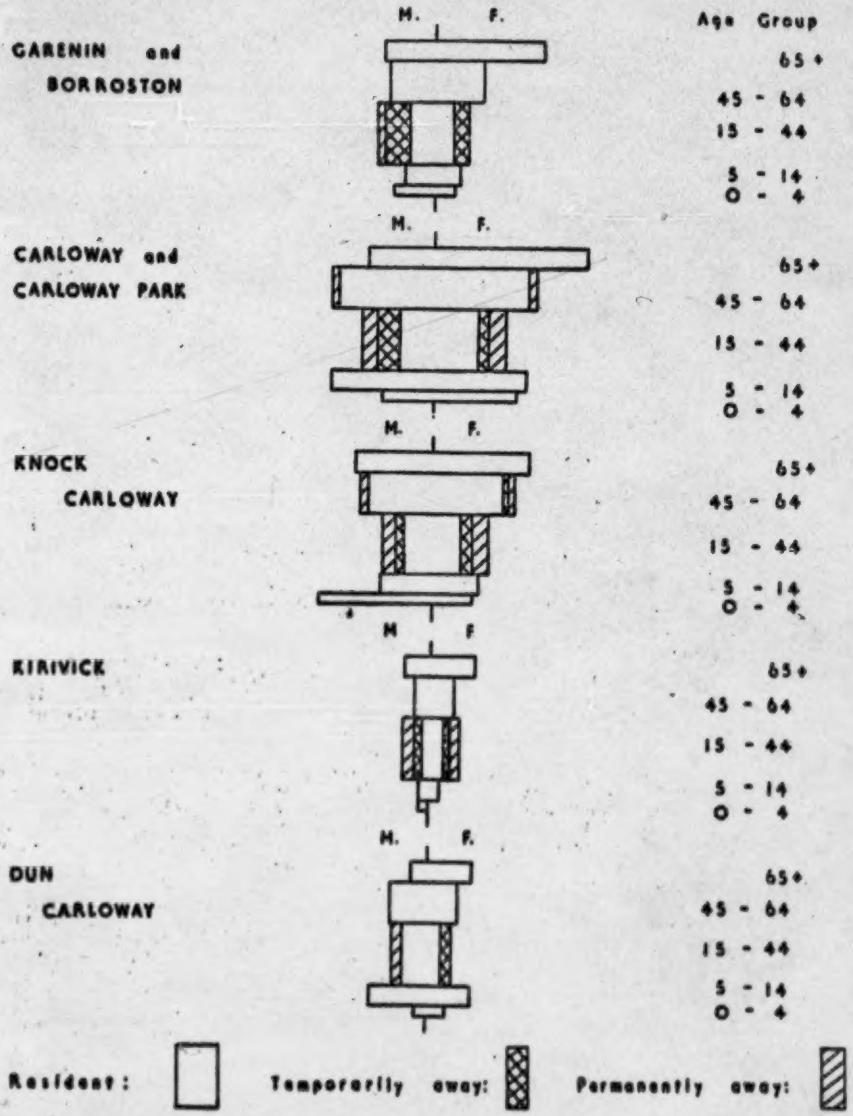
POPULATION: AGE and SEX composition



DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into 427 two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those 241 of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and 461 the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock [288] enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the croft as an ancilliary employment appears to have defeated its own object, for with the population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the annual cow and calf subsidies, and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held croftland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding 311 and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each fo which is owned within the township.

311 The total souming is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking of sheep; 187.4% of the soum. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some of the croftland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

128 The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units.

241 Appendix C(1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com- 311 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry 231 stock (a quarter of these sublet croftland). The number of feus also tends to mask the 423 process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the 427 cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

241 Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is to be found on 52% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large proportion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass. [178] The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbye and outrun is under

241 permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one
where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in
178 fishing and the lack of alternative employment leading to a greater decline in population
may explain the more rapid decline in the Valtos area. Whether Carloway will see a
similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Stock carried as a proportion of total soum of each township - Carloway district, August 1959

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TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	70%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borrowston	74%	15%	121%
Garenin	97%	30%	160%
Knock Carloway	64%	30%	90%
Kirivick	73%	25%	124%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)): the maximum error is probably around 10%.

128 Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between
size of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (3), (4), (5)
231 and (6). Though the total soumings (that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units
to 'cow units' expressed as a percentage of the souming) never fall below 60% the sheep
233 souming is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again however
311 this is not as serious as it is in the Valtos area where soumings are exceeded by up to
three times the figure allowed. Nor does the mere statistical analysis reveal all the
picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing
of both cattle and sheep may regulate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and
absolute increase in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the
pastures.

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the present generation are prepared to tolerate the life of the shieling in its old form where the cattle were taken in the summer. In consequence the grazing on the outer moor is almost entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now only marked by small broken stone mounds which were once the shelters and by the small surrounding areas of greener sward. The changing aspect of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is develo-
231 ping. 167 milk cows are being raised on 171 agricultural units and with these are 113
calves. Appendixes C (5) and C (6) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis
of farming is the single milk cow and annual calf which carries a subsidy if it passes the
inspector of the Department of Agriculture. A few crofters are raising young beasts for
sale but there is a general unwillingness to grow more fodder to raise cattle for an uncertain market which may be affected at any moment by an increase in transport costs
which are already high. Without the subsidy such enterprises would hardly be possible
at all and indeed one could say this of many aspects of life in the island today. Some of
the calves are wintered, but the usual practice is to sell off late in the year.

233 Little close attention is paid to shepherding though several crofters profess to liking it. The great losses on the moor (often amounting to one third of the lambs each year) does not seem to cause much worry. The chief income from the sheep is the fleece which [435] sells at up to 4/- per pound, an average fleece weighing from three to four pounds. This wool is not used for the tweed industry since it is too coarse being more suited to carpet [288] manufacture. Appendix C (6) shows that the majority of flocks are small averaging from 10-20. The overgrazing is the result of a smaller number of owners keeping larger flocks. Thirteen of the working units have between 50 and 100 sheep. As to those without sheep, several crofters declared themselves to be too old to bother with them, a fact which serves as an illustration and introduction to the population problems.

162 Appendices D (1) shows the twofold nature of the difficulties which confront the community. Twenty-two per cent of the residents are over 65 years of age and no less than 56% are 464 over 45 years old. With the sole exception of one man who works on the power development project at Gisla in South Uig, the main focus of employment is local. A small number [434] of people are engaged in services to the community including shopkeeping, but the main source of income is weaving since crofting itself (by definition in this area at least) does not yield sufficient to maintain a family. Yet there are 31 full time crofters who are being supported in some other way, either by relations temporarily or permanently absent or by interest on capital accumulated during periods of employment away from the island.

162 There is an insufficiency of women of child-bearing age to offer hope of an increase in 464 the population or even a sufficient number to guarantee a level of replacement. This fact toegther with the emphasis on one form of employment gives rise to anxiety among the crofters, who recollect what happened when the fishing finally collapsed during the First World War after a period of steady decline. In 1913 twenty boats sailed from Carloway [435] and gave employment to 295 men. If the weaving fails (at present a weaver making three tweeds per week can earn up to £16 for them) there will be similar hardship and the net emigration from an area already none too attractive to young people will certainly become more marked than it is at present.

Table 36

Fishing in the Carloway District 1892-1956

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228
435

	Numbers engaged		
	Boats	Men	Value of catch:
1892	65	300	?
1900	27	318	?
1913	20	295	£8,700
1920	14	266	£560
1930	10	83	£262
1938	10	40	£470
1948	14	40	£174
1956	15	18	nil

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Boats returned may not have been in regular use; many of the men were mainly engaged as hands on east coast boats.

APPENDIX C

231
241
341
423
427
632

(1a) Agricultural Statistics of Bernera District, August 1959

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (acres) Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture:	Gardens (No.)	CATTLE: Soum:	Milk:	Others:	Calves:	SHEEP: Soum:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Tractors
Breaclete	13	3	14	13	3	8	80	10	59	14	11	15	312	221	164	241	-	-
Croir	8	-	7	6	2	4	222	1	37	7	4	7	96	133	110	137	-	-
Hacklete	20	1	20	26	6	12	210	-	122	30	22	19	661	486	390	499	2	1
Kirkibost	26	4	28	26	9	22	373	9	144	35	14	27	866	496	381	420	5	1
Tobson	24	-	19	22	7	3	160	7	97	30	6	24	784	362	305	248	-	-
BERNERA ISL.	91	8	88	93	27	49	1045	27	459	116	57	92	2719	1698	1350	1545	7	2
Earshader	4	2	6	7	1	7	43	4	17	6	1	6	104	149	121	168	-	-
Crulivig	6	-	6	9	3	4	68	-	25	8	6	5	163	193	168	213	-	-
Lundale	6	-	6	6	3	2	144	3	34	7	4	7	192	197	167	141	-	1
Linshader	10	-	9	6	4	7	45	9	13	6	2	4	330	307	218	227	-	-
'SHORE'	26	2	27	28	11	20	300.	16	89	27	13	22	789	846	674	749	-	1
FARMS etc.	-	4	4	-	-	-	?	2	-	5	33	5	-	180	130	205	-	-
TOTAL BERNERA DISTRICT	117	14	119	121	38	69	1345	45	548	148	103	119	3508	2724	2154	2499	7	3

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Croft holdings include duplicate tenancies; other holdings include de facto holdings such as cottars and squatters if carrying crops or stock; effective agricultural units include only holdings with at least a cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation; duplicate tenancies and privately sub-let crofts are not counted twice.

(c) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the regulations were made unless some other date is specified.

(d) Additional sheep figures are given in Appendix C(2).

231
241
311
423
427
632

(Ib) Agricultural Statistics of East Loch Roag and Carloway districts, August, 1959

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS:		EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (Acres)				Gardens	CATTLE:				SHEEP:				Horses	Tractors
	Crofts:	Others:		Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture:		Soum:	Milk:	Others:	Calves:	Soum:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:		
EAST LOCH ROAG:																		
Garynahine	12	1	11	2	1	19	66	7	18	4	-	2	180	98	94	31	-	-
Callanish	48	-	32	20	9	34	177	13	124 (232?)	28	5	23	671 (928?)	549	509	253	1	2
Breasclete Pk.	9	1	5	3	2	6	21	7	37	3	1	2	124	68	52	34	-	1
Breasclete	63	3	54	34	11	58	273	43	191	48	4	32	567	601	479	368	1	-
Tolsta Chaolis	43	3	30	17	9	47	222	13	96	28	2	24	573	700	520	270	1	2
Lochganvich	8	-	7	4	2	12	48	4	33	7	1	4	155	140	134	48	-	2
Others	-	3	3	5	1	8	493	1	-	8	1	5	-	42	40	37	-	1
CARLOWAY DISTRICT																		
Dun Carloway	24	6	25	18	7	29	141	13	130 (164?)	25	10	17	460 (574?)	612	400	492	1	1
Kirivick	14	2	13	8	2	20	50	8	60	13	2	8	202	205	163	92	-	-
Knock Carloway	33	7	33	13	6	28	131	33	132	33	6	25	530	407	301	140	-	-
Carloway	53	18	50	39	14	67	99	35	116	54	2	34	290	314	248	197	3	1
Carloway Park	6	-	5	5	1	8	5	4	14	6	1	5	81	70	62	53	1	-
Borrowston	16	-	13	8	3	25	18	12	98 (116?)	12	3	8	392 (464?)	362	277	228	-	-
Garenin	28	2	25	22	9	27	53	7	98 (154?)	24	-	16	341 (539?)	419	281	257	3	-

Notes: (a), (b), and (c) - as for Appendix C(1a).

(d) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions are as reported. See also Appendix C(2).

(e) Where an alternative figure is shown beneath the soum there is doubt as to the interpretation of the regulation.

APPENDIX C continued

(2) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August 1959

231
311
632

TOWNSHIP:	TOTAL STOCK: (including lambs)		LAMBING:	STOCKING RATIO: (per 100 acres of grazing common)	
	as recorded:	as estimated:	as reported:	estimated:	soums:
Breaclete	626	630	74%	49	24
Croir	380	380	83%	64	20
Hacklete	1,375	1,400	80%	73	35
Kirkibost	1,297	1,300	77%	52	35
Tobson	915	950	84%	46	38
Earshader	438	480	81%	36	8
Crulivig	574	600	87%	45	12
Lundale	505	550	85%	55	19
Linshader	752	750	71%	8	4
Garynahine	223	250	96%	15	11
Callanish (including Breasclete Park)	1,465	1,600	91%	30	15
Breasclete	1,448	1,600	80%	41	15
Tolsta Chaolis	1,490	1,550	74%	57	21
Lochganvich	414	?	85%	(20)	8
Dun Carloway	1,504	1,550	65%	70	21
Kirivick	460	550	79%	71	26
Knock Carloway	848	950	74%	70	39
Carloway (including C.Park)	944	1,000	81%	42	28
Borrowston	867	950	76%	114	59
Garenin	957	1,000	67%	55	19

[128]

NOTES: (a) The last two columns cannot be directly compared because the sheep soum per 100 acres of common grazing does not include lambs.

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

APPENDIX C continued

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, August 1959.

162
311
427
464
631

Status[*] of tenants:		Area of holding (in acres): 0.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	2	6	3	8	10	4	4	37
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	-	1	4	3	4	12
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	-	1	1	2	2	1	-	7
	M over 65	-	5	1	3	8	4	4	25
	F under 65	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	6
	F over 65	-	-	3	2	1	-	1	7
	Absent	-	1	3	1	3	2	3	13
	TOTAL	2	13	12	18	32	15	17	109
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	4	21	13	3	2	2		45
	M over 65	-	1	1	-	-	-		2
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-		1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
B	M under 65	2	6	4	-	1	-		13
	M over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-		1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
C	M under 65	-	4	7	2	-	-	-	13
	M over 65	6	15	15	5	3	2	-	46
	F under 65	-	4	4	-	-	-	1	9
	F over 65	2	5	2	1	2	-	-	13
	Absent	6	15	6	2	-	2	-	30
	TOTAL	20	72	53	13	8	5	1	172
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	5	24	10	3	-	2	-	44
	M over 65	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	4
	F under 65	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	3	7	1	-	1	-	-	12
	M over 65	3	18	7	-	1	-	-	29
	F under 65	1	13	3	2	-	-	-	19
	F over 65	4	14	4	-	-	-	-	22
	Absent	4	12	1	1	1	-	-	19
	TOTAL	21	92	28	7	4	3	-	155

[*] A with regular employment.
B with irregular employment.
C without employment ('full-time crofters').

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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APPENDIX C continued

(4) Principal croft workers, according to status, by size of effective agricultural unit, August 1959.

162
311
427
464
631

Status of croft worker		Less than 2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres)							
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	4	7	6	11	15	12	11	66
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	-	2	8	3	2	17
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	1	3	2	1	1	9
	M over 65	-	-	4	2	1	-	-	7
	F under 65	-	-	2	1	2	1	1	8
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	5	8	13	19	28	17	15	105
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	4	24	17	13	18	3	3	82
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	5	1	1	1	-	10
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	4	-	3	1	1	9
	M over 65	3	7	4	3	2	1	1	21
	F under 65	-	2	3	1	1	-	-	7
	F over 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	TOTAL	8	35	33	18	25	6	5	130
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	20	39	16	8	4	4	1	92
	M over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	2	1	3	1	-	-	-	7
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	7	7	2	2	1	1	-	20
	M over 65	1	4	8	-	1	2	-	16
	F under 65	3	5	3	-	-	-	-	11
	F over 65	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	7
	TOTAL	36	59	35	11	6	7	1	155

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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APPENDIX C continued

(5) Stock and cultivation by size of effective units, August 1959.

(a) STOCK

231
311
631

Stock as proportion of soum of each unit:	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units 0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Less than 50%	-	5	3	4	6	3	4	25	27
50%-100%	1	5	2	11	13	5	6	43	46
100%-200%	1	3	3	4	9	6	4	30	32
More than 200%	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	2
All units	2	13	8	19	29	14	15	100	108
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Nil	2	3	2	1	-	-	-	7	9
Less than 50%	2	8	9	4	5	2	2	32	42
50%-100%	1	6	8	5	6	2	2	29	39
100%-200%	-	5	4	6	2	1	-	19	25
More than 200%	-	7	2	2	2	2	-	14	18
All units	4	30	25	17	15	6	3	100	133
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Nil	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	5	6
Less than 50%	4	16	9	2	3	1	1	36	44
50%-100%	2	11	12	2	2	2	-	31	38
100%-200%	2	12	5	2	2	-	-	22	27
More than 200%	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	6	7
All units	10	43	29	7	7	4	1	100	122

(b) CULTIVATION

241
311
631

Acres cultivated:	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units 0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	5	6
0.5-1.0	1	3	2	2	1	-	2	10	12
1.1-2.5	2	6	5	10	19	9	6	58	66
2.6-5.0	-	1	1	5	8	3	6	24	27
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	3
All units	4	13	8	18	28	13	15	100	114
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	4	6
0.5-1.0	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	6
1.1-2.5	1	15	9	4	1	-	-	30	43
2.6-5.0	-	12	13	8	11	4	4	52	74
More than 5.0	-	-	1	4	2	1	1	9	13
All units	6	29	24	16	15	6	5	100	142
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	10	5	3	-	1	-	-	18	28
0.5-1.0	10	11	7	1	1	1	1	32	48
1.1-2.5	3	20	13	5	2	1	-	43	66
2.6-5.0	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	7	10
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All units	22	38	24	5	6	3	1	100	152

APPENDIX C continued

(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit x

162
231
464
631

STOCK CARRIED	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Female	ALL UNITS x
BERNERA DISTRICT:						
CATTLE xx nil	3	2	1	4	-	10
1	8	24	8	3	1	44
2	4	13	1	1	-	19
3	-	4	1	-	-	5
more than 3	-	1	-	-	-	1
SHEEP nil	2	-	-	-	-	2
less than 6	1	-	1	-	-	2
6-10	2	2	-	1	-	5
11-20	-	3	2	3	-	8
21-50	8	23	4	2	1	38
51-100	2	15	4	2	-	23
more than 100	-	1	-	-	-	1
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:						
CATTLE xx nil	5	13	5	4	-	27
1	12	53	6	16	1	88
2	2	9	-	-	-	11
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP nil	2	10	4	3	1	20
less than 6	1	2	-	2	-	5
6-10	6	5	1	5	-	17
11-20	4	22	1	3	-	30
21-50	2	25	5	7	-	39
51-100	4	9	-	-	-	13
more than 100	-	-	-	-	-	-
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:						
CATTLE xx nil	3	6	-	2	1	12
1	21	72	5	11	4	113
2	5	10	1	2	1	19
3	-	1	-	-	-	1
more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP nil	9	17	2	6	4	38
less than 6	2	5	-	2	-	9
6-10	4	8	-	1	-	13
11-20	6	17	2	2	1	28
21-50	5	32	1	3	1	42
51-100	2	6	1	1	-	10
more than 100	1	3	-	-	-	4

x some units are omitted for lack of data.
xx two years and over.

APPENDIX D

162
166
632

(1) Population totals by townships

	MALES																				
	RESIDENT									PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANENTLY AWAY						Migration since	
						15–64															
	0–4	5–14	15–44	45–64	65 and over	Full-time crofter	Crofter with regular employment	Crofter with periodic employment	Dependent	Students	National Service	Others 15–44	Others 45–64	Merchant Navy 15–44	Merchant Navy 45–64	Professional 15–44	Professional 45–64	Others 15–44	Others 45–64	Emigration	Immigration
EARSHADER	1	5	4	5	2	-	3	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CRULIVIG	3	1	6	1	5	-	3	4	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LUNDALE	-	-	2	5	1	-	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LINSHADER	2	-	2	1	5	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	1
TOTAL F	6	6	14	12	13	1	12	11	2	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	1
HACKLETE	2	7	11	14	4	1	19	4	1	3	2	1	1	3	-	1	-	1	-	8	-
KIRKIBOST	2	3	16	14	9	4	19	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	8	1
TOBSON	4	4	12	9	6	3	11	4	3	1	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	12	-
BREACLETE	-	3	11	8	3	1	13	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
CROIR	1	-	5	4	2	-	6	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	-
TOTAL G	9	17	55	49	24	9	68	14	13	5	2	4	1	5	-	4	-	3	-	35	1

	FEMALES																		
	RESIDENT						Periodically away			PERMANENTLY AWAY								Migration since	
						15 – 64													
	0–4	5–14	15–44	45–64	65 and over	In employment	Students	Others 15–44	Others 45–64	Nursing 15–44	Nursing 45–64	Professional 15–44	Professional 45–64	Domestic Service 15–44	Domestic Service 45–64	Others 15–44	Others 45–64	Emigration	Immigration
EARSHADER	1	5	3	2	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
CRULIVIG	1	-	5	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2
LUNDALE	-	-	1	5	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LINSHADER	2	-	2	3	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
TOTAL F	4	5	11	13	11	1	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	2
HACKLETE	4	9	8	12	7	-	1	2	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	7	2
KIRKIBOST	4	1	8	12	8	3	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	4	-	18	2
TOBSON	3	4	10	9	10	1	3	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	6	-
BREACLETE	1	-	6	9	4	2	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
CROIR	-	-	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
TOTAL G	12	23	33	45	30	7	6	7	1	7	2	1	-	1	1	7	-	33	4

162
166
632

APPENDIX D continued

	MALES																					FEMALES																		
	RESIDENT									PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANENTLY AWAY						Migration since		RESIDENT						Periodically away			PERMANENTLY AWAY								Migration since	
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	15-44	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
TOLSTA CHAOLIS	3	17	16	16	13	3	19	2	8	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	4	2	24	2	4	8	8	24	16	6	3	4	2	4	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	22	4
BREASCLETE	11	14	32	23	22	2	38	2	13	8	1	1	-	8	-	-	-	9	1	23	6	11	16	32	29	34	5	5	9	-	5	-	2	-	4	1	3	-	31	12
BREASCLETE PARK	3	2	2	1	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	1	4	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	1
CALLANISH	3	6	20	15	11	5	22	6	2	4	1	2	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	19	-	2	6	13	16	19	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	2	-	26	-
GARYNAHINE	1	8	9	7	4	3	4	6	3	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	-	6	1	5	9	7	8	4	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	17	1
LOCHGANVICH	-	-	4	1	4	-	3	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	4	5	2	5	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
TOTAL H	21	47	83	63	56	13	89	16	28	15	4	5	-	15	1	-	-	20	3	75	10	25	44	69	80	82	14	9	14	2	14	1	5	1	13	2	7	-	100	18
GARENIN	4	4	13	7	7	4	15	-	1	3	2	5	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	11	2	1	2	8	13	17	1	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	13	-
BORROSTON	-	2	2	11	3	4	9	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	7	-	1	3	3	6	4	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
CARLOWAY	5	20	21	38	13	5	43	3	8	10	2	-	1	3	-	1	-	6	2	12	8	8	8	25	37	30	5	2	4	1	4	-	3	-	-	1	3	1	30	5
KNOCK C.	11	10	16	25	15	7	23	3	8	2	2	-	-	2	1	-	-	7	2	20	7	4	9	17	28	19	11	2	5	2	3	2	2	-	-	-	3	-	19	6
KIRIVICK	1	2	4	6	5	2	6	-	2	2	-	1	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	3	9	9	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-
DUN CARLOWAY	1	11	14	14	3	3	18	4	3	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	4	-	15	3	2	9	9	12	9	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	21	2
TOTAL I	22	49	70	101	46	25	114	10	22	20	6	8	1	14	3	3	-	21	4	68	20	16	43	65	105	88	19	7	19	3	10	2	5	-	1	2	10	1	90	13

APPENDIX D continued

162
462
463

(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, August, 1959.

(including members of the light-house
service and their families)

District: *	F	G	H	I
Croft work only	1	9	13	25
Croft and regular -				
-weaving	9	38	73	104
-fishing	-	22	-	-
-estate work	1	-	1	-
-public services	-	5	3	7
-transport	2	2	5	6
-retail trade	1	4	3	4
Croft and irregular -				
-casual labour	1	-	4	-
-estate work	8	-	3	-
-whaling	-	-	-	5
Regular work but not crofting -				
-weaving	-	1	5	10
-professional	-	2	1	3
-public services	-	-	6	2
-transport	-	2	1	-
-distribution	-	-	3	1

* Districts - F: Bernera (mainland)
G: Bernera (island)
H: East Loch Road (Garynahine - Tolsta Chaolis)
I: Carloway (Dun Carloway - Garenin).

APPENDIX D continued.

(3) Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

166
167
178

Destination:	Male	Female(1)	Total
BERNERA DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	6	4 (3)	10
Other Lewis	2	10 (9)	12
Other crofting counties	3	6 (5)	9
Glasgow	3	7 (7)	10
Other Scotland	14	7 (7)	21
Other U.K.	2	4 (4)	6
Overseas	4	1 (1)	5
All emigrants	34	39 (36)	73
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	10	10 (8)	20
Other Lewis	8	17 (12)	25
Other crofting counties	7	10 (8)	17
Glasgow	23	21 (17)	44
Other Scotland	14	22 (12)	36
Other U.K.	4	11 (10)	15
Overseas	6	2 (2)	8
All emigrants	72	93 (69)	165
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	5	13 (7)	18
Other Lewis	12	17 (8)	29
Other crofting counties	5	9 (6)	14
Glasgow	18	17 (13)	35
Other Scotland	12	15 (9)	27
Other U.K.	4	4 (4)	8
Overseas	10	7 (2)	17
All emigrants	66	82 (49)	148

Note: (1) the figure in parenthesis refers to females who emigrated on marriage.

PART IV

000

SOME PROBLEMS OF AN ISLAND COMMUNITY.*

Chapter			Page
XII	Agriculture in a crofting parish	H. A. Moisley	127
XIII	Population and employment	H. A. Moisley	138
XIV	Conclusions		

Appendices

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* Although based on earlier field work, these chapters were largely written during the tenure of a Carnegie Research Fellowship which the author wishes gratefully to acknowledge.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

102
233
241
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133
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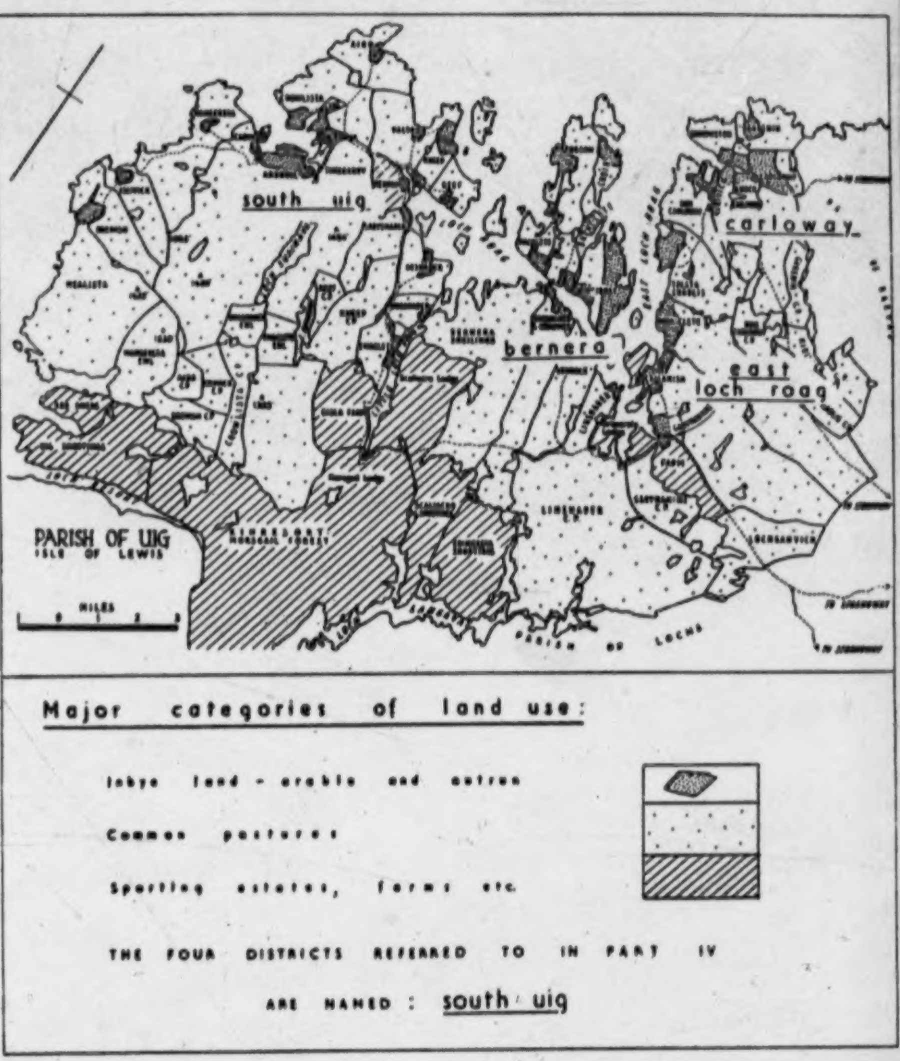
south uig
carloway
bernera
east loch roag
PARISH OF UIG
ISLE OF LEWIS
MILES
0 1 2 3
PARISH OF LOCHS
Major categories of land use:
Inbye land - arable and outrun
Common pastures
Sporting estates, farms etc
THE FOUR DISTRICTS REFERRED TO IN PART IV
ARE NAMED : south uig

TABLE 37

The Crofting Structure Re-organised

241
311
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632
423
427

(a) Holdings

District	Proportion of holdings grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All holdings
South Uig	49%	36%	15%	100% (193)
Bernera	14%	27%	59%	100% (109)
East Loch Roag	55%	30%	9%	100% (172)
Carloway	72%	23%	5%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	50%	32%	18%	100% (629)

[128] Note: These are the registered crofts and similar agricultural tenancies as on the 1958 valuation roll. About 50 holdings omitted for lack of data.

(b) Effective agricultural units

District	Proportion of units grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All units
South Uig	33%	34%	33%	100% (165)
Bernera	13%	30%	56%	100% (105)
East Loch Roag	33%	39%	28%	100% (130)
Carloway	61%	30%	10%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	38%	32%	30%	100% (555)

[128] Note: About 20 units omitted for lack of data.

(c) Summary (excluding Carloway, see note)

	Proportion of holdings (generally registered crofts):	Proportion of effective agricultural units:
Under 8 acres	72%	47%
8 acres and over	28%	53%
All holdings/units	100% (474)	100% (400)

[128] Note: The Carloway district is here excluded because about 30 small *de facto* agricultural units without crofter status obscure the effect of unofficial amalgamation of crofter-tenancies.

Source: Appendices A(3) and (4) and C(3) and (4).

CHAPTER TWELVE

AGRICULTURE IN A CROFTING PARISH

by

H. A. Moisley

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The agricultural economy of Uig parish, as of the Hebrides in general, is rigidly controlled by three sets of factors - physical conditions, the system of crofting land tenure, and economic circumstances. The first two have already been discussed in Part I. In particular, it has been shown that the crofting system, as at present operated, puts many holdings into the hands of tenants who cannot make best use of the land. Many holdings stand under-stocked, some virtually un-used, whilst some crofters who could be efficient agents of agricultural production are inhibited by the small size of their holdings and their inability to sufficiently enlarge them. (See Chap. III, p. 30, and appendices to the district accounts, especially A(3), A(5), C(3) and C(5)).

The crofting system re-organised.

There are 699 agricultural holdings on the 1958 valuation roll, of these only 23 are neither statutory crofts nor holdings of similar status (see Table 9, page 25). About half these holdings have less than 5 acres of inbye land; only 18% have more than 10 acres. Very small holdings are a particular feature of the Carloway district (73% less than 5 acres) and, to a slightly less extent, of East Loch Roag district (42% less than 5 acres). Relatively large holdings are most important in the Bernera district (59% greater than 10 acres). In South Uig, despite the large number of holdings formed within the present century, only 15% of all holdings exceed 10 acres, (c.f. Carloway: 5%). Details of the size-distribution of holdings are given in appendices A(3) and C(3), and are summarised in Table 37(a).

Although still illegal at the time of our survey, it is not surprising that sub-letting is extensively practised, along with other forms of amalgamation, as described in Chap. III (page 30). Thus arises the distinction between 'holdings', which are generally tenancies of different individuals, and 'working units', which may include several holdings. The latter are potential units of agricultural production and are generally larger than the holdings.

However, the structure of potential agricultural units is not the product of one process alone. Amalgamation is important but so also, in certain districts, is 'sub-division', a process which tends to reverse the development of larger agricultural units. By 'sub-division' is meant not only the unofficial sharing of crofts by two or more families, which still happens but is no longer very significant, but also the individual enclosure of small pieces of the common pastures. Such enclosures are, nowadays, generally subject to the approval of the township committee and of the factor, some may even have a feu charter; nevertheless they are the contemporary representation of the age-old custom of squatting on common land, a process which increased the number of crofts in some areas in the course of the nineteenth century, (Chap. III, page 17). Such holdings are here classified as 'working units' provided that they carried either a cow, or at least five sheep, or more than a quarter acre of cultivation, including hay.

Finally, since a proportion of the 'working units' (potential units of agricultural production) are neither stocked nor cultivated, we must distinguish between them and the actual units of agricultural production, here termed 'effective agricultural units'. We accounted for 580 of these, (page 30). Their distribution by districts, according to the acreage of the units, is shown in Table 37(b). Comparison of table (a) and (b) demonstrates the effect of unofficial re-organisation of the crofting structure. In particular, Carloway excepted, the proportion of units of less than 8 acres is reduced in practice from 72% to 47%, and the proportion of units of more than 10 acres is increased from 18% to 30%. In Carloway the result of amalgamation is masked by 'sub-division'; in that district there are about 30 small holdings which carry stock even though they do

TABLE 38

Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the soumings

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	Cattle (more then 1 year old): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum
OLD TOWNSHIPS						
South Uig	716	178	677	3,173	10,500	3,557
Bernera	446	183	464	1,713	5,400	2,890
E.L. Roag	555	132	481	1,652	5,200	2,090
Carloway	682	191	648	2,818	6,000	2,596
NEW TOWNSHIPS	-	104	329	-	5,800	2,858
FARMS etc.	404	44	-	4,400	900	-

Note: Figures for individual townships are given in Appendix E.

427 311 [178] not have crofter status. Thus, despite the rigidity imposed by crofting legislation, the crofting structure is evolving; whether the larger units so formed are agriculturally more productive than the smaller, statutory, units is another question.

Cattle and sheep stocks

231 178 The production of cattle and sheep is the main function of the croft, from the agricultural point of view, and the main function of the crofting parish. In this respect a great change has occurred in the last 80 years: about 1880 some 3,300 cattle and 14,000 sheep (of all ages) were kept; in 1959 the corresponding figures were 1,281 and 35,000. This change is by no means the result of the re-settlement of crofters on former farms; in 1879, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the sheep:cattle ratio was 2.3:1 on the crofting townships and 9.6:1 on the farms: now it is 27:1 over the whole parish. The change (Table 38) has been fairly uniform over the parish except that, whereas sheep stocks generally have more or less trebled, in the Carloway district they have little more than doubled.

[161] [162] The decline of cattle numbers has been at the same rate as that of the human population and this, together with the much lower sheep:cattle ratio on crofting townships than on farms in 1879, suggests that, 80 years ago just as to-day, the main object of cattle keeping was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep numbers on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the soumings.

233 311 178 If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the soumings shown in Table 38 and Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Bernera, there was rough agreement between stock and soum. To-day cattle stocks are around one-third of those allowed by the soum whereas sheep stocks are greatly in excess. Examination of the soumings leads one to question their validity in the light of modern conditions: the sheep soums bear no regular relation to the available areas of common pastures (Appendices A(2) and

TABLE 39

Stock carried by working units

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STOCK HELD AS PROPORTION OF SOUM	Percentage of units in each district with stock indicated:					
	South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	WHOLE PARISH	
	%	%	%	%	%	(No.)
Nil	3	1	7	5	4	(20)
Less than 50%	26	25	32	36	31	(153)
50% - 100%	32	43	29	31	35	(173)
101% - 200%	31	30	19	22	26	(131)
More than 200%	8	2	14	6	4	(40)
All units	100	100	100	100	100	(499)

233 C(2)) and the cattle soums appear impossibly high unless large quantities of winter fodder
are imported. In the old townships the soums of each croft are still based on minor
311 variants of the traditional "1 cow and follower and 8 sheep per pound rent"; the rents,
however, were calculated on the potential value of the croft in days when an inexhaustible
178 supply of labour was available for production of winter fodder by cultivation. This is no
[427] longer the case and the old assumption no longer holds.

Township pastures are seldom, if ever, used to best advantage. Because the regulations generally allow unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle, the soumings are not, in theory, exceeded by the presence of the increased flocks of sheep. In practice, however, the situation is quite different. In the first place the difference between the effects of the grazing of sheep and cattle on the hills is not widely appreciated. In discussions some crofters remarked on the change during the present century in the appearance of the nearer hill pastures - "they were green when I was a boy, now they are black", - but this was seldom correlated with the decline in cattle and increase in sheep. There can be no doubt that the increase in the ratio of sheep to cattle has generally led to a deterioration of the grazings. Further, there are almost five hundred separate sheep packs on the parish pastures, most of them with less than 20 ewes; at some fanks the men and dogs seem to outnumber the sheep! Little real sheep-herding is done - nor can it be by men who have other regular employment. Consequently the hills are not grazed evenly: some areas are grossly over-grazed whilst others are neglected. This situation has grown worse with the decline in cattle numbers and consequent abandonment of the shielings, the occupation of which ensured that use was made of the more distant pastures.

Yet another factor inhibiting proper use of township pastures is their situation and
361 shape. Many townships, particularly in South Uig, have detached areas of hill pasture,
former shielings. These are often singularly inaccessible now that the custom of
233 staying at shieling huts has ceased. Other township pastures are long narrow strips
running inland for up to seven miles. Straying from one township's lands to those of
311 another is therefore common. Individual allocation of the hill pastures is not
178 practicable but a certain amount of fencing and, possibly, the employment of a paid
township shepherd (as in the nineteenth century), would help.

If we examine the stocking of individual working units, Table 39, we find that only 30%
233 carry more than their total soum, 35% carry between a half and a full soum and a further
311 35% carry less than half their soum. The situation does not vary very much as between
the four districts, although there appears to be a slight tendency for working units in
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TABLE 40

Individual sheep and cattle stocks by districts

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Holdings:		Proportion of units with stock as indicated:					
Stocks:		South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	Whole Parish	
		%	%	%	%	%	(No.)
CATTLE:	nil	12	13	21	8	14	(65)
	1	54	56	70	78	65	(314)
	2	29	24	9	13	18	(86)
	more than 2	5	7	-	1	3	(15)
All units		100	100	100	100	100	(478)
SHEEP:	nil	6	3	16	26	14	(68)
	1 - 5	1	3	4	6	4	(17)
	6 - 10	8	6	14	9	9	(43)
	11 - 20	9	10	24	19	16	(78)
	21 - 50	35	48	32	29	34	(164)
	51 -100	34	29	10	7	19	(89)
	more than 100	7	1	-	3	3	(14)
		100	100	100	100	100	(473)

233 311 631 Bernera and South Uig to carry more stock than those in East Loch Roag and Carloway. Taking the total soum (cattle and sheep together) obscures some aspects of the livestock economy. If we examine cattle and sheep separately quite a different picture emerges (Table 40). As to cattle over one year old, two-thirds of the units carry but one cow, 14% have none, and only 3% carry two or more. In all districts the majority of units carry but one cow, but in South Uig and Bernera a significant proportion carry two - either a second milk cow or a young beast, the latter probably for sale in the autumn. Clearly, the great majority keep a cow mainly as a walking dairy; experience in other areas confirms this and in the Point and Tolsta districts of Stornoway parish many crofts have ceased to keep cattle at all since organised milk supplied became available. Sheep stocks, on the other hand, vary far more from unit to unit (Table 40). There is a marked tendency for the flocks to be bigger in the south and Bernera districts, where units without sheep are also rare, whereas in the north a quarter of the units in the Carloway district are without sheep and few have more than 50. In other words, agricultural production per working unit is greater in the two southern districts than in the north.

233 221 The management of the 500 or more sheep flocks deserves some comment, even from the non-agriculturalist. Lambing takes place in April on the crofts or on near-by common land; the ewes, with lambs, go to the hills in May, weaning takes place at the end of August and at the end of October or early November all sheep return to the croft land or near-by common pastures. The lambing percentages (60% - 90%, see appendices A(2) and C(2)) as reported to us appear optimistic, even for a good year, but this is probably because they were given to us before weaning; at least a 10% reduction of the figures given would be realistic. Except for certain South Uig flocks few lambs are sold; the

233 hoggs are needed to maintain the flock because casualties, from disease and accident, are heavy. Wedders are also kept, until they are two or three years old, when those that survive are supposed to be good for the pot. Again, after allowing for casualties and home consumption, the surplus for sale is generally small, except from a few exceptionally well-managed flocks. Likewise, the crofter who weeds out his elderly ewes is almost unknown; one man, indeed, claimed with pride the possession of a fifteen year old ewe! Thus it is certain that, after allowing for household consumption, very few of the little flocks of sheep yield an economic return for the time spent on them. The ideal arrangement would be to replace the 500 little individual flocks by about 50 communally owned 'club-stocks', each with a paid shepherd. This could almost certainly be financially more rewarding but would probably be socially unacceptable because so many crofters are deeply attached to their small packs of sheep.

TABLE 41

Stock carried (as a proportion of soum) according to size of units

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	Percentage of Units according to size:							UNITS OF ALL SIZES
	0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	more than 20.0 acres	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nil	16	5	4	1	-	5	3	4
Less than 50%	36	34	31	30	28	30	29	30
51% - 100%	24	24	38	40	38	30	46	33
101% - 200%	24	25	22	31	28	27	20	25
More than 200%		12	5	8	6	8	3	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 41 has been constructed in an effort to discover whether the size of the working unit (which is greater in the southern districts) has any notable effect on stock carried. Further details will be found in appendices A(5) and C(5). It is clear that the size of the unit has no influence on the stock carried.

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Finally, we may examine the stock held according to the age and employment status of croft workers (Table 42). Apart from a natural tendency for persons over 65 to keep no stock, the status of the croft worker appears to have little effect. Whether a crofter has regular, or only casual employment does not appear to influence the amount of stock which he carries. The proportion of "croft workers under 65 with no other employment" carrying no stock may seem curiously high until we recall that many of these persons are elderly pensioners or invalids.

TABLE 42

Stock held, according to status of principal croft workers

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	Croft workers under 65 years of age:			Over 65:		
	No other employment:	Regular employment:	Casual employment:	Male:	Female:	All Units
	%	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
CATTLE HELD:						
nil	16	10	14	25	17	14 (65)
1	63	68	63	60	75	65 (314)
2	20	19	19	11	8	18 (86)
more than 2	-	3	5	4	-	3 (13)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP HELD:						
nil	19	11	14	19	42	14 (68)
1 - 5	6	3	2	6	-	4 (17)
6 - 10	18	7	5	13	8	9 (45)
11 - 20	14	17	14	16	25	16 (78)
21 - 50	25	39	36	30	25	34 (164)
51 -100	16	20	25	14	-	19 (89)
100 +	1	3	5	2	-	3 (14)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (475)

Some units omitted for lack of data.

Labour - who are the agriculturalists ?

When we recall (Table 12, page 28) that 16% of the crofter tenants are absentees,
461 that 34% are over 65 years of age (of whom 8% are women), and that a further 7% are
162 women under the age of 65, it becomes clear that many of the tenants cannot reasonably
be expected themselves to provide active labour for agricultural operations. An
attempt has been made to analyse the agricultural labour force; this must be treated
with some reserve because it was necessary to decide for every effective agricultural
464 unit, who was the principal croft worker. In some cases croft work is shared by a
162 younger and an older man, the former having a regular job (often weaving) but being
available for the heavier work, whilst the older man keeps things going from day to day.
128 Women, even the elderly, often provide an important subsidiary source of labour, too.
Where two persons were shown on the croft record as sharing the work of the croft, the
887 older, if over 65, was ignored. Thus the analysis probably under-estimates the part
played by elderly persons. Nevertheless the results are useful (Table 43): two-
thirds of all effective agricultural units are worked by crofters having other

TABLE 43

Classification of croft workers

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Principal croft workers:			c.f. Tenants (from Table 12):	
Males under 65	77%		51%	
of whom: in regular employment		55%		32%
in casual employment		12%		10%
with no other work		10%		9%
Males over 65	15%		31%	
Females under 65	5%		8%	
Females over 65	3%		9%	
All persons	100% (557)		100% (530)	

employment and, as we shall see, in most cases, the croft carries so little stock that it cannot be the most important source of income.

This situation does not vary very much from district to district (Table 44), except that South Uig has a noticeably high proportion of elderly croft workers. This is to be correlated with the unsatisfactory age structure of the south Uig district which, in turn, is probably a reflection of the poorer employment opportunities there and consequent emigration. Weaving, in particular, is less important than elsewhere. This situation is also reflected in the smaller proportion of crofters with regular employment and the larger proportion which relies on casual employment as shown in Table 44.

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Finally, we may enquire whether the size of agricultural unit available to a man has any influence on his employment status. To this end status has been plotted against size

TABLE 44

Principal croft workers by districts

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	Croft workers by districts:							
	S. Uig:		Bernera:		E.L. Ross:		Carloway:	
Males under 65:	72%		86%		78%		77%	
regular employment		41%		62%		63%		59%
casual employment		20%		16%		8%		5%
no other work		11%		8%		7%		12%
Males over 65	24%		7%		16%		10%	
Females	4%		7%		5%		12%	
	100% (165)		100% (107)		100% (130)		100% (155)	

Source: Appendices A(4) and C(4).

TABLE 45

Principal croft workers by size of effective agricultural units

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Size of unit (acres):	Nil to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males under 65:							
regular employment	55	61	47	60	52	57	60
casual employment	7	11	13	12	17	9	12
no other work	16	7	7	7	15	11	12
Males over 65	11	13	23	16	11	18	15
Females	10	9	9	4	4	4	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Appendices A(4) and C(4)

[462] of unit; the result (Table 45) does not suggest that the possession of a large agricultural unit encourages a man to become a full-time rather than a spare-time agriculturalist. Indeed, the possession of a large unit, built up by amalgamation, is often a fortuitous result of marriage, death, or inheritance, rather than a matter of individual choice. The only significant correlation in the table seems to be the understandable tendency for female croft workers to work the smaller, rather than the larger, crofts.

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The cultivated land

The chief crops are hay, oats and potatoes, in that order:

DISTRICT	Acreage of: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	All Crops	Average per unit
South Uig	149	50	209	407	2.5
Bernera	121	38	69	228	2.0
East Loch Roag	83	35	170	288	2.1
Carloway	113	42	202	357	2.2
TOTAL	466	165	650	1,280	2.2

241 [178] Barley, which in the form of bere was important until the 1920's, has almost disappeared. Turnips, marigolds, rape and other animal food crops are only grown

241 here and there in small patches of less than a quarter acre and therefore do not appear in our summaries, appendices A (1) and C (1).

The amount of cultivation carried out depends on three factors:

(i) stock, particularly cattle, to be carried through the winter,
(ii) size of family, which influences the amount of potatoes grown,
(iii) available labour, because cultivation is mostly by hand, especially in South Uig and Bernera.

The size of the effective agricultural unit has little influence on the area cultivated although it may bear some relation to the amount of natural hay taken. This can hardly be regarded as 'cultivated' and the acreage is difficult to estimate; the custom is to cut as and when weather permits, and wherever there is a convenient stand of natural grass.

Hand labour is a necessity on most crofts in the Bernera district and on many elsewhere. The traditional 'lazy-bed' - a long narrow strip of cultivation bounded by deep ditches which may be half as wide as the bed - is a necessity on broken, rocky ground on which the only soil is peat which often has to be gathered into hollows in order to get sufficient depth. The small size and long narrow shape of most crofts do not lend themselves to tile drainage, which is almost unknown. If it could be extended it would be a great advantage but, in general, it would have to be organised by townships, or at least by groups of crofts, and the whole trend in management of croft land is towards individual occupation and use.

This may not always be a good thing. Fencing is a case in point. Until the last
241 ten years fenced crofts were rare altough small parts of crofts might be fenced and, in
417 some cases, a group of crofts might be fenced off from the rest. But, in general, the
crofts were common land in the winter and used individually only from May to October.
178 Fencing grants, and the encouragement of sown grass in rotation with oats, have
changed this. A great rash of fencing is appearing. This may not be altogether a good
[233] thing, particularly for the sheep in winter and spring; even if gates are still left open,
stock are deprived of the ability to move for shelter. There may also be watering
difficulties. Co-operative draining, cultivation and grazing, of groups of crofts if not of
townships, would be more efficient and more productive.

Finally, we may remark on the curious insistence on hand cultivation of oats and
241 potatoes for consumption on the croft, whilst cash crops well suited to hand labour, and
which would be far more rewarding, are neglected. Flowers, vegetables and potatoes
[439] are imported into Stornoway daily on the mail steamer and even by 'plane. Neither
climate nor soil prevents their production in Lewis. Moreover such crops could
provide a much needed source of additional income. A few croft gardens produce
excellent soft fruit and as the local season differs slightly from that on the mainland
[176] there would seem to be possibilities here, too. There have been virtually no
agricultural innovations since the potato.

Economic and Technical Factors.

434 The agricultural income of a croft arises from:

(i) the sale of livestock, mostly store stock at the spring and autumn sales,
(ii) the sale of the annual wool clip,
(iii) the receipt of certain annual subsidies and grants.

These are the main items; in addition some may sell small amounts of potatoes, eggs
and standing hay; a very few sell a little milk although strictly this is illegal. Such an
annual income comes in three or four annual instalments, uncertain as to date and
amount. Moreover, a crofter may suddenly and unexpectedly find himself deprived of a
large portion of his income due to casualties amongst his stock or poor demand at the
000 seasonal sales. Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store

Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store 432 stock from the autumn sale he cannot easily present it elsewhere a few weeks later; he 434 must keep it from the autumn until the spring, which will probably involve him in buying feeding stuffs out of his seriously depleted income. Many crofters suspect that their difficult position in this respect is taken advantage of by mainland buyers. Whether this is true or not the result is the same - the crofter is discouraged from raising stock.

433 Many crofters with whom we discussed this problem realised that, by fully stocking and cultivating their crofts they might double, or even treble, their income from agriculture. Some realised that sound management of a large unit, such as the amalgamation of two or three crofts, by sublets or otherwise, might yield a reasonable family livelihood. What they all stressed was the uncertainty - the uncertainty of stock and wool prices, the uncertainty of subsidies from year to year, the uncertain fortunes of their little packs of sheep and the uncertain effects of the weather on their hay and oats harvest. In other words they lack confidence - in both the cash reward for agricultural operations and in their own technical ability. Therefore they prefer to take a sure weekly income, however small, and to work their land at a low level of productivity.

000 Climate, soil, and insularity (to which must be added the particular isolation of south Uig and Bernera, even within Lewis) all present problems. But there is a tendency to overstress these difficulties and to use them as excuses, whilst failing to appreciate that [438] they also offer certain opportunities. Many agricultural raw materials have to bear the cost of shipping from Glasgow or from Leith; the peculiar difficulties of island stock marketing have already been mentioned; but, equally, the Minch could and should provide a natural protection for island agriculture. Elderly milk and travel-worn fatstock, potatoes and vegetables, imported daily into Stornoway from the mainland, are a standing reproach to crofting agriculture. Crofters could produce most of this food and if they would they would be turning to advantage the disadvantage of insularity. Some will admit this, if pressed, but they will also rightly point out the difficulties. These are two-fold: technical (particularly in the case of legal restrictions on milk production for sale) and economic (the difficulties, or believed difficulties, of marketing). A few individuals, for example, claimed that it was not worth selling potatoes unless they received the full shop price: this is a stubborn and stupid attitude; and one is reminded of the crofters' long opposition to the introduction of the potato, nearly 200 years ago; a co-operative marketing organisation might help in this respect.

829 The crofters' attitude to innovation is all-important; new ideas, whether in agricultural practise or in marketing, require careful introduction and a good deal of fostering. The crofters' lack of confidence is a real factor and must be taken account of; it is not due only to the risk and uncertainty of markets, they also lack technical knowledge, even though they may have plenty of ability. Again, the prevalence of small units makes it particularly difficult to adopt innovations; a failure which might be negligible on a large farm can become a disaster on a croft. The crofter has not the resources of the farmer with which to experiment, nor has he been able to observe other methods or crops on other farms because he lives and works in a restricted environment, [654] surrounded by fellows in like situation. The introduction and development of township re-seeding schemes by the Agricultural Advisers is an excellent example of how these difficulties can be solved. Good progress has been made since our survey. Because such improvements are communal they tend to add to the flexibility of the township structure; because they extend the grazing season in spring and autumn they tend to reduce the need for winter fodder and so to reduce the cultivation problem. Far more [464] re-seeding could be done, particularly in South Uig and Bernera. Here the lack of local employment makes agriculture more important as a source of income than elsewhere and the need to improve the productivity of agriculture is both great and urgent if population is not to fall below the minimum level for maintenance of services. This special problem deserves special attention, by both local communities and by the authorities. If South Uig and Bernera could carry a further 800 head of cattle, which is no more than was carried in 1883 (and is still less than the soums), the problem would be well on the way to solution.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT

H. A. Moisley

Growth and decline.

161 In its demography as in so many other aspects the parish of Uig is characteristic of the Hebrides in general rather than of Lewis in particular. Throughout the Hebrides the 162 late eighteenth century saw a rapid rise in population followed, in the early nineteenth century, by clearances, emigration and decline (Fig. 44). The growing population, [824] sustained by the newly-introduced potato, found employment in kelp-making. Lewis made little kelp compared with the Uists and such as was made came largely from Uig, i.e. [464] from Loch Roag; consequently, whilst the population of Barvas only increased by 15% between 1755 and 1801, that of Uig increased by 58%, (c.f. North Uist 60%, South Uist 73%). Clearances and emigration reversed this trend in population after 1821 (Mull and North Uist), after 1831 (Islay), and after 1841 (Skye, Harris, North Uist and Barra), a reversal which was not experienced in Lewis except in Uig (see Part I, Figure 8). Thereafter, in the outer, but not in the inner Hebrides, growth was resumed, to reach new maxima in 1881 (the Uists) and 1911 (Lewis, Harris and Barra); Uig, alone of Lewis parishes, reached its maximum population in 1891. Subsequent loss of population has been particularly severe, as may be seen from Table 46 and Figures 8 and 45.

TABLE 46

Loss of population, since maximum, to 1951

	Date of maximum	Loss as percentage of maximum
Uig	1891	41.2%
Lochs	1911	34.4%
Barvas	1911	26.5%
Stornoway	1911	18.6%

(Stornoway Burgh is excluded)

[228] The early on-set of decline makes Uig somewhat comparable with the Uists, where final decline set in after 1881, rather than with Barra and Harris, where growth continued until 1911. This may be connected with the vicissitudes of fishing, particularly in south Uig where, by the 1890's, the annual Fishery Reports comment repeatedly on the decay of great line fishing and of the dried white fish trade. Re-settlement of crofters on farm land in Uig in the present century again affords a parallel with the southern Outer Hebrides rather than with the rest of Lewis; as elsewhere, it failed to arrest the decline although it did bring about a re-distribution which afforded welcome relief in the more overcrowded townships. But decline still continues; the loss appears to have been around 40 per annum in the 1950's (table 47) compared with 30 in the 1930's where there was some

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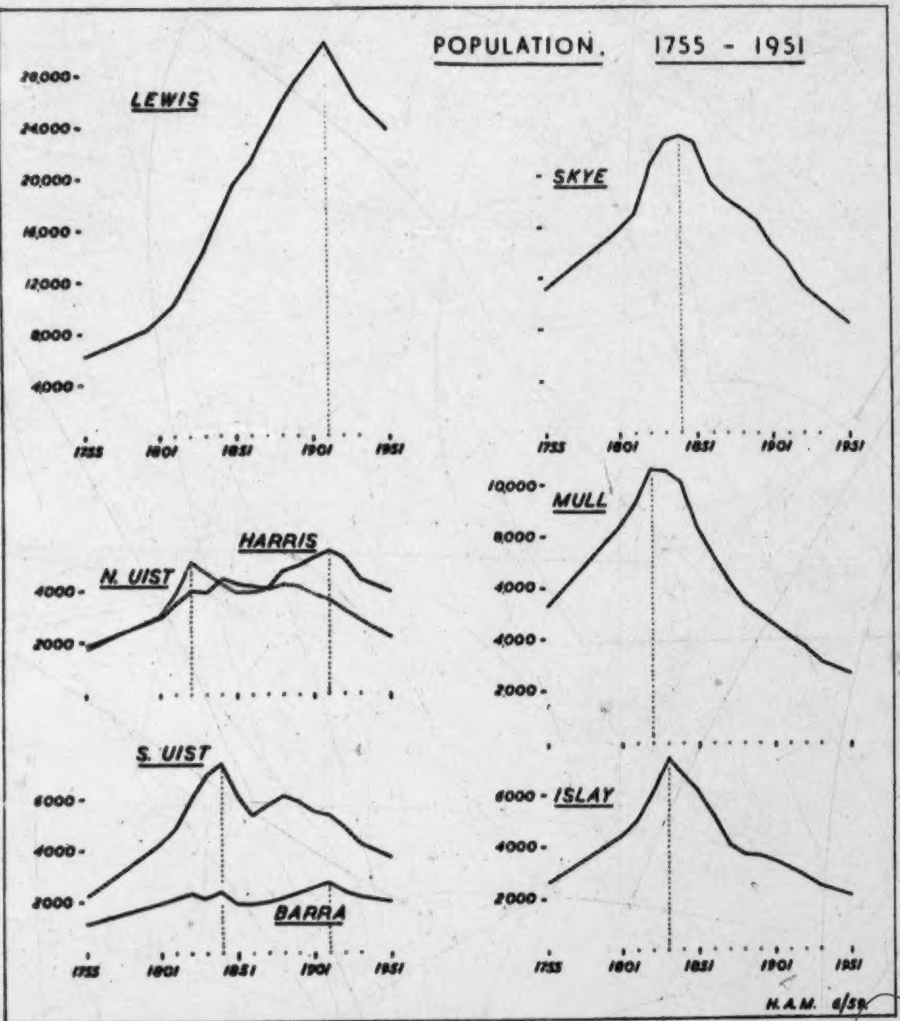

Figure 44

Population changes in certain islands, 1755 - 1951. (For changes in Lewis parishes, including Uig, see Part 1, Figure 8).

TABLE 47

Population of Uig Parish 1901 - 1959

161
162

1901	1911	1921	1931	1939 (a)	1951	1959 (b)
4,463	4,462	3,956	3,364	3,110	2,718	2,390

(a) National Registration, not strictly comparable with decennial Census figures.

(b) Our own survey count.

return of unemployed men and families from the mainland and overseas. Thus we found, in 1959, that the population of Uig was less than in any year since 1811. Nevertheless it was still double that reported to Webster in 1755, before the potato, kelp and fishing led to inflation.

These changes have not affected all parts of the parish at the same time, nor to the same extent. The position is summarised in table 48 and figure 45. Summaries by districts conceal a good deal of the truth; each township has had its individual history and no two are alike. Township figures are given in Appendix E.

TABLE 48

Changes in the relative distribution of population 1841 - 1959
For details by townships see figure 45.

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631

	Proportion of the total in each district in the year: 1841	1891	1931	1951	1959
South Uig District	52	51	31	28	27
Bernera District	16	15	19	18	18
East Loch Roag District	17	23	24	25	25
Carloway District	15	23	26	29	29
	100	100	100	100	100

South Uig, in 1841, had more than half the population of Uig, despite the early clearances. It has now little more than a quarter, and is still declining most rapidly. In Aird and Crowlista, for example, where there were 321 persons in 1891, we counted but 71; in Valtos in the same period the decline was from 480 to 113. Most striking of all, in Ungshader, where 38 persons were living as recently as 1931, we found only 9. Bernera and Bernera Shore have slightly increased their share of the population of Uig, since 1891, although the actual number has fallen from 650 to 424. Clearances never had the same depopulating effect in Bernera as they had in the south, and fishing remained prosperous longer. The re-settlement of Linshader farm by crofters in 1925 had little effect but Bernera itself, despite isolation, has retained its population quite remarkably. Many go away to find work but few leave for ever. The development of lobster fishing has helped. [228]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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361

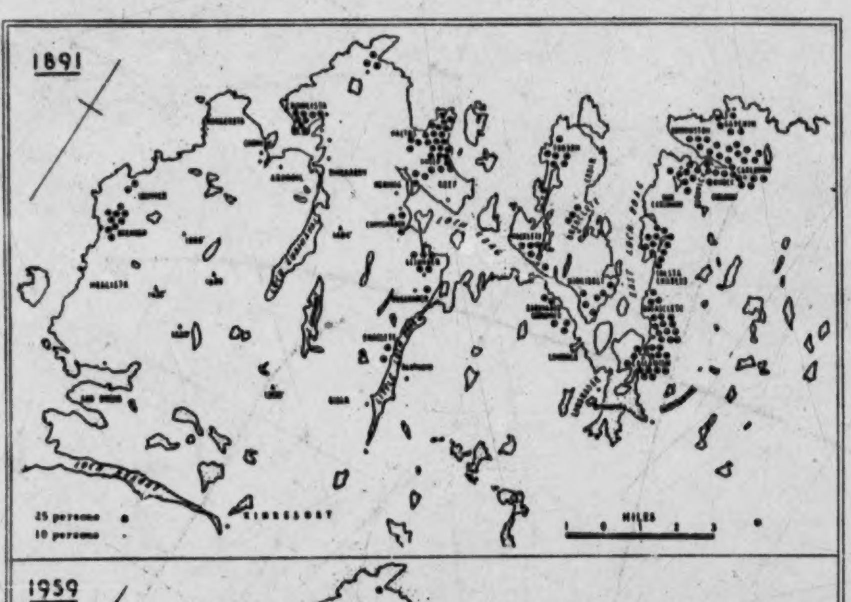
1891
25 persons ●
10 persons •
KINRESORT
MILES
1 0 1 2 3
1959
25 Persons ●
10 Persons •
KINRESORT
MILES
1 0 1 2 3

Figure 65

Distribution of population in 1891 and 1959

161 In the northern townships, stretching from Garynahine to Loch Carloway, quite the reverse is seen. Here there are actually more people now than in 1841 (1,261, c.f.
162 1,204), although there has been a marked decline since 1891 when 2,106 were enumerated. Thus this area, which had less than one third of Uig's population in 1841, now has more than half. The main change occurred before 1891 and was associated with the prosperity of fishing, both locally and on the east mainland coast, but, in addition, this area did not lose population as rapidly as did Bernera and the southern townships in the 'twenties and 'thirties, nor since 1951, and this can undoubtedly be ascribed to the early establishment, especially in the Carloway district, of Harris Tweed weaving.

TABLE 49

Loss of Population by Districts, 1931 - 1959

	Annual rates:		Net loss:
	1931 - 1951	1951 - 1959	1931 - 1959*
Carloway District	0.5%	1.6%	182
East Loch Roag District	0.8%	1.3%	185
Bernera Shore	-	2.9%	28
Bernera Island	1.6%	0.7%	182
Little Loch Roag	1.8%	1.0%	95
Valtos District	1.0%	1.8%	101
Aird and Crowlista	2.0%	2.2%	60
Uig Bay District	0.6%	(+0.1%)	12
Mangersta/Brenish	1.8%	2.1%	97

* Immigrant R.A.F. and Ministry of Civil Aviation staff and families are excluded.

Migration

121 One of the objects of our enquiries was to discover something of the processes of population change in recent years. To this end we tried to record some details of migrants,
16 from and to the parish since 1939 (see croft record questionnaire, frontispiece to Part I). We also attempted to record war and other casualties away from home. Finally, we recorded natural population changes by extracting details of births and deaths from the official registers for the period October 1939 - December 1958 (the 1959 registers were not available). The results are summarised in table 50.

Our record of migration depends on the memories of our informants and cannot be
166 expected to be complete, nor can the 1939 (National Registration) population figure be

TABLE 50

The Population balance sheet, 1939 - 1959

16

District:	Population:		Decline, 1939 - 1959:			Net Migration:	
	1939	1959	Total	Natural:	Casualties:	Deduced	(Recorded)
South Uig	909	677	232	32	16	184	(95)
Bernera	638	425	213	30	11	172	(76)
East Loch Roag	764	619	145	19	7	110	(130)
Carloway	874	669	205	39	10	156	(121)
UIG	3,185	2,393	792	120	44	622	(422)
c.f. Park	1,500	908(1958)	592	(+13)	33	572	(355)

166 strictly comparable with our own. A check is possible, as shown in the table, for we can compare our records of net migration (last column in table 50) with that obtained by deducting natural change and casualties from total change. Thus, since 1939, the deduced net loss due to migration appears to be 622, c.f. our record of 462. This deduced figure is certainly too high, because it does not take account of excess of deaths over births in 1959, nor is it likely that we have recorded all "casualties", i.e. deaths outwith Uig of persons normally resident there. The Park survey showed a slightly greater discrepancy. In any event the 1939 and 1959 figures are not completely comparable; the data provide a broad picture of the changes rather than census-like statistics. But they do provide for more geographical detail than the official Census.

[161] They show that the decline in population is due, in all parts of the parish, both to emigration and to an excess of deaths over births. Over the whole parish migration accounts for nearly 80% of the loss, natural change for 15%, casualties for 5%. By districts the proportions are:

16

	Migration:	Natural change:	Casualties:	Total change:
South Uig	79%	14%	7%	100%
Bernera	81%	14%	5%	100%
East Loch Roag	81%	14%	5%	100%
Carloway	76%	19%	5%	100%
c.f. Park	97%	(+3%)	6%	100%

This is quite a different picture from that found in Park district, where migration alone was the apparent cause of population decline and where, over two decades, births slightly exceeded deaths.* Uig lost 20% of its 1939 population by migration whereas Park lost 38% in a slightly shorter period, 1939 - 1958 c.f. 1939 - 1959 for the Uig data. Even the more remote districts of Uig have not lost population at much more than half the rate of loss from Park.

166 Net migration is made up of a large outflow, mainly of men and women under 45, and a small return flow, mainly of older people such as retired policemen and similar pensioners. Families entering the area to perform some particular service (school teachers, ministers etc.) more or less balanced the outward movements of their predecessors and may be discounted. Examination of the individual croft records shows

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* Caird J. B. et al. Park: a geographical study of a Lewis crofting district (G. F.G. 1959), table XV.

166 that the movement of whole families is unusual, although a few have migrated to Stornoway, particularly from the south. In this respect Uig, except to some extent the south, differs from Park; only 15% of emigrants have gone to Stornoway, c.f. 32% from Park.

TABLE 51

The Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959 .

Destination	Males (No.)	Females (No.)	(1)	Total (No.)	(%)	c.f. Park (%)
Stornoway	37	44	(28)	81	(15)	(32)
Other Lewis	24	52	(33)	76	(14)	(7)
Other crofting counties	27	33	(25)	60	(11)	(9)
Glasgow	56	57	(48)	113	(21)	(22)
Other Scotland	47	60	(39)	107	(20)	(17)
Other U.K.	17	26	(25)	43	(8)	(8)
Overseas	28	19	(8)	47	(9)	(5)
All destinations	236	291	(206)	527	(100)	(100)

Note: (1) The figure in parenthesis under 'females' indicates those who became 'migrants' on marriage.

Male emigrants from Uig go mainly to Glasgow and other parts of the mainland (table 51). Since 1939 (in effect since 1945) only 12% have gone overseas; 16% have moved to Stornoway and a further 10% to other parts of Lewis. This is almost entirely a movement in search of work. Female emigrants from the parish are less widely dispersed: more went to other parts of Lewis and fewer overseas. There is a special factor in the
582 case of female emigrants. Social intercourse between the different island districts is very active, despite the apparent lack of facilities; almost a third of the female emigrants
562 from Uig became migrants on marriage into other Lewis parishes. Even if we discount such migration, more women than men migrated from Uig between 1939 and 1959. Weaving
288 retains young men but not the young women.

Migration from a crofting district is a somewhat indeterminate process. Young people of both sexes go to Glasgow or elsewhere in search of work. For a while they maintain their island homes but, eventually, they set up homes of their own. Our criterion of 'migration', as against (working permanently away', was this setting up of a home. Thus the critical point is often marriage and it will be noted (table 51 and Appendices B(3) and D(3) that a very large proportion of female emigrants appear to have emigrated on marriage; in the case of migration outwith Lewis this usually means that for some time previous to their becoming 'emigrants' they had seasonal or permanent employment away from home. Indeed, our enquiries showed that the great majority of young women who took employment on the mainland eventually married and settled away from Lewis. Only a small minority returned, often giving up their employment in order to care for ageing
582 relatives. An island man may occasionally return with a mainland wife but cases of island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed.

166 island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed. Thus migration remains, as it has long been, a one-way traffic and this is almost certainly related to the problem of establishing technical innovation*.

Age structure

162 [121] The age structure of the population reflects the changes that have taken place in recent years. The population of Uig, as is usual in areas of declining population, is ageing. It is one advantage of a survey such as ours that the data may be analysed in greater geographical detail than is possible from the published figures in the official Census reports. This is particularly important in the crofting region where neighbouring communities may show quite different demographic - and economic - trends. Table 52 compares the 1951 Census figures for rural Lewis with those of Uig parish and with certain other districts, one (Park) remote like Uig, the other (Point) being most accessible to the urban facilities and employment offered by Stornoway. Uig has an even greater proportion of old folk than has Park, but it also has more children. This is probably related to the smaller proportion of Uig's population finding it necessary to leave the parish in search of work (16%, compare 28% from Park).

The proportion of the population over 65 years of age has increased from 17% in 1939 to 21% in 1959; it is thus more than twice the national average and well above the figure for rural Lewis. The proportion between 45 and 64 has also increased whilst that between 15 and 44 has markedly declined. The actual number of persons aged between 15 and 44 had declined from 1,263 in 1939 to 752 in 1959. It is to this age group in particular that one should look when seeking economic development but it is by no means certain that this decline is an unmitigated evil.

TABLE 52

Age distribution

	Percentage in each age group:					
	0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65+	
Scotland	9.0	15.0	43.0	23.0	10.0	Census, 1951
Lewis (rural)	9.0	15.7	35.1	24.3	15.9	Census, 1951
Uig	7.4	13.4	31.5	26.1	21.6	G.P.O., 1959
Park (Lochs p.)	5.0	13.8	29.4	33.1	18.7	G.P.O., 1958
Point (Stornoway p.)	8.1	16.4	28.6	30.6	16.4	G.P.O., 1960
Uig Districts						
South	9.1	12.8	31.8	22.3	24.0	
Bernera	6.4	9.9	41.2	27.0	15.8	
East Loch Roag	7.4	14.7	32.2	23.4	22.3	
Carloway	5.7	13.8	29.1	31.4	20.1	
Compare:						
Uig (1939)	6.0	15.4	39.2	22.2	17.2	Nat. Register

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[113] * For discussion of this topic see Caird J. B. and Moisley H. A.: Leadership and innovation in the Crofting Communities of the Outer Hebrides, Sociological Review, Vol. 9 1961, pp. 85-102.

Employment - the search for work

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When an island community outgrows the local intrinsic resources permanent emigration is not the only solution. It is one of the outstanding demographic characteristics of island communities that a proportion of the population seeks employment beyond the island whilst maintaining its island homes. We therefore classified the population, in the first place, according to whether it was:

(a) permanently resident in the parish

(b) leaving the parish seasonally or otherwise irregularly in search of work, and

(c) working permanently away yet without a permanent home except in the parish.

TABLE 53

Location of employment

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	Proportion of total population:				
	Resident:	Periodically away:	Permanently away:		
Uig Parish	83.7%	6.5%	9.8%	100% (2,652)	
Districts					
South Uig	87.7%(1)	3.1%	9.2%	100% (746)	
Bernera	85.2%	7.2%	7.6%	100% (460)	
East Loch Roag	81.3%	7.0%	11.7%	100% (701)	
Carloway	81.2%	8.6%	10.2%	100% (745)	
c.f.					
Park	72.2%	11.0%	16.8%	100% (1,092)	(1958)
Point(Stornoway)	86.8%	2.3%	10.9%	100% (1,068)	(sample: 1960)
Harris(mainland)	80.8%	6.9%	12.2%	100% (2,768)	(1961)
North Uist	87.7%	2.3%	10.0%	100% (432)	(sample: 1960)
South Uist	86.0%	3.5%	10.5%	100% (3,690)	(1956)
Barra	70.6%	4.0%	25.5%	100% (1,906)	(1961)

Note: (1) Including at least 27 temporarily employed on construction work at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme, and 28 permanently employed at government sites (equivalent to 7.4% of the total population). Many of these men would otherwise seek employment outwith Uig.

On this basis some 16% of the population of Uig is periodically or permanently away. This may seem low compared with 28% in Park and 30% in Barra but, on the other hand in the Point district, near Stornoway, the proportion is only 13%, and in North and South Uist it is around 12 - 14%. In Harris (Scalpay and Bernera islands excepted) the proportion is 19%. Various factors influence this state of affairs; they may be summarised as the age-structure of the population, the relative viability of the crofts and the opportunities for local employment. Within Uig the situation differs from district to district; the particularly low proportion classified as 'periodically away' in South Uig was probably

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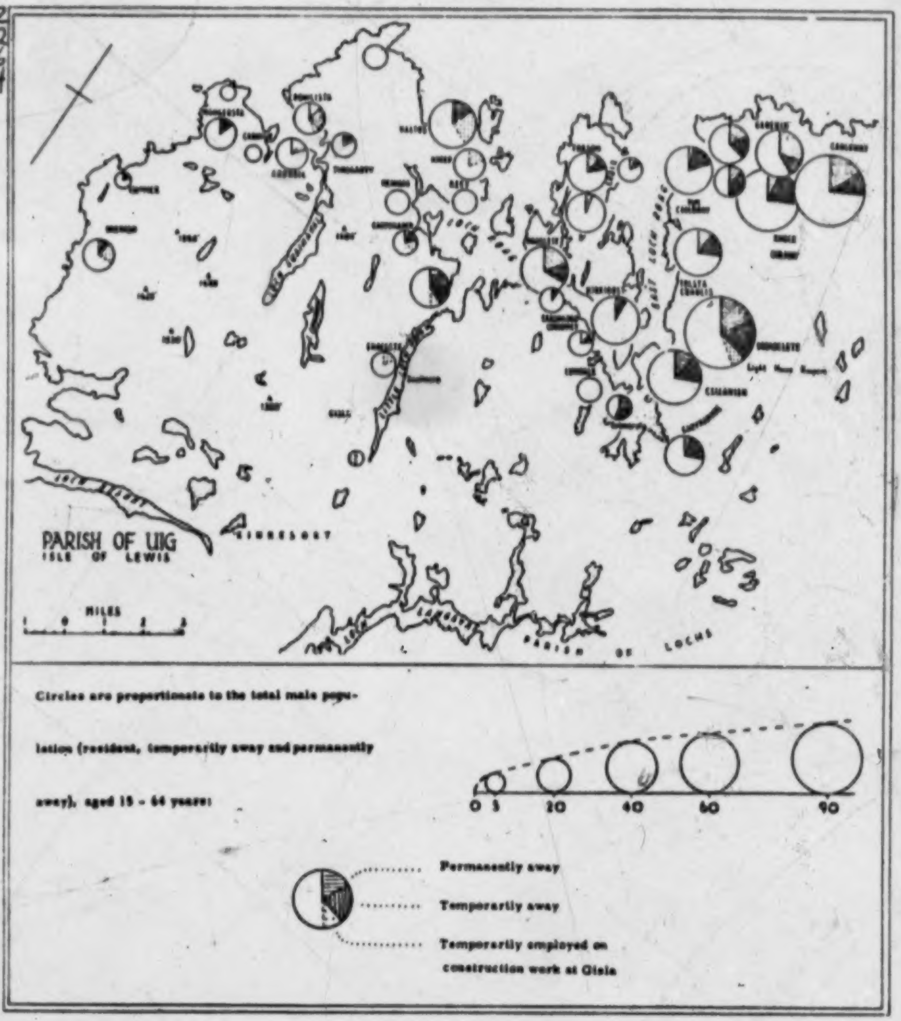
PARISH OF UIG
ISLE OF LEWIS
MILES
1 0 1 2 3
KINRESORT
PARISH OF LOCHS
Light House Keepers
Circles are proportionate to the total male population (resident, temporarily away and permanently away), aged 15 - 64 years:
0 5 20 40 60 90
Permanently away
Temporarily away
Temporarily employed on construction work at Gisla

Figure 46

The search for employment

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464 a temporary feature in 1959 due to the casual employment provided by a hydro-electric
166 scheme at Gisla (Figure 46).

[887] In this respect the critical age-group is 15-44 years (table 54). Few older people take work away from home. Of this age-group, 338 (out of 931) persons are away.
462 Women account for 199, men for only 139; the difference is a strong indication of the lack of employment opportunities for women in Lewis. The contrasting experiences of
166 the different districts are quite remarkable (figure 46). A far greater proportion of men goes away from the two northern districts than from Bernera and the South, and this despite the greater importance of weaving in the north. The explanation for this lies partly in the generally smaller size of crofts of the north, partly in the type of employment available locally and partly in the customary choice of employment away, which differs from district to district. Social custom, which may vary as between one township and the next, has a strong bearing on whether and where young men and women choose to work.

TABLE 54

The 15-44 age-group, distinguishing men and women

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		Resident:	Periodically away:	Permanently away:	Total:
		%	%	%	% (No.)
Uig Parish	M	71	7	22	100 (471)
	F	57	17	27	100 (460)
Districts					
South Uig	M	80(1)	8	12	100 (138)
	F	62	8	30	100 (134)
Bernera	M	70(2)	14	15	100 (98)
	F	57	22	22	100 (78)
East Loch Roag	M	59	17	25	100 (142)
	F	53	18	30	100 (131)
Carloway	M	49	24	27	100 (142)
	F	56	22	22	100 (117)

Notes: (1) including at least 16 (12%) temporarily employed on construction work at Gisla.

(2) including 11 (11%) full-time fishermen.

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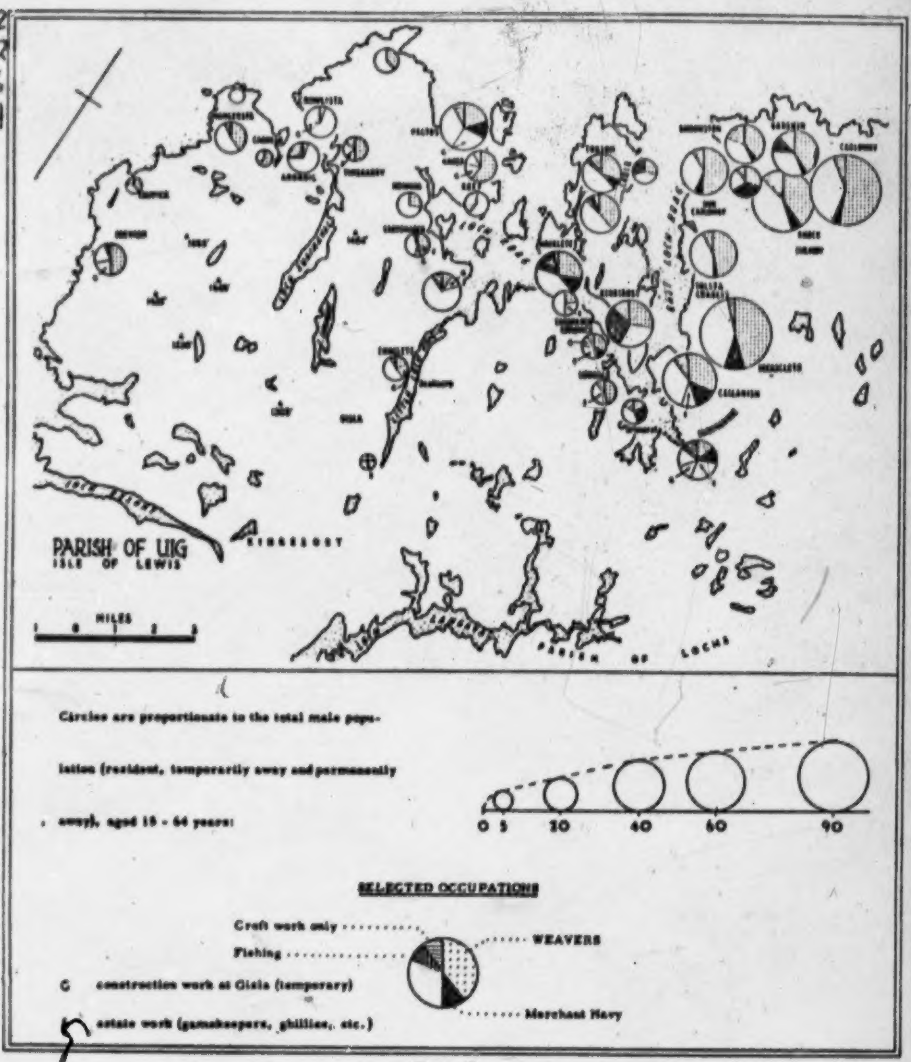
PARISH OF UIG
ISLE OF LEWIS
MILES
1 0 1 2 3
KINRESORT
PARISH OF LOCHS
Circles are proportionate to the total male population (resident, temporarily away and permanently away), aged 15 - 64 years:
0 5 20 40 60 90
SELECTED OCCUPATIONS
Craft work only
Fishing
WEAVERS
Merchant Navy
C construction work at Gisla (temporary)
E estate work (gamekeepers, ghillies, etc.)

Figure 47

Certain occupations of men aged 15 - 64, by townships

TABLE 55

Proportion of resident males, aged 15-64, in Major categories of employment

See Appendices B(2) and D(2) for details.

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	Croft-work only	Croft-work and weaving	Croft and other regular work	Croft and periodic work	No croft work	Total (100%)
Uig Parish	11	43	16	13	14	(635)
Districts						
South Uig	13	27	22	24	13	(188)
Bernera	8	36	25	19	12	(130)
East Loch Roag	9	50	11	11	19	(146)
Carloway	16	61	6	6	13	(171)

[88] Table 55 and figure 47 summarise the main sources of employment. The small group engaged in 'croft-work only' may be briefly dismissed. A large proportion of these men are elderly or otherwise infirm; a few are pensioners (e.g. retired police or service men); very few indeed are fully occupied in the agricultural work of their crofts, thus 'full-time crofters' is a misnomer in this area.

464 288 The most important category, in all districts, is 'croft-work and weaving', but it is relatively far less important in the south where there is correspondingly greater reliance on other forms of regular employment or on periodic work, i.e. casual labour.* It is difficult to overestimate the significance of weaving in all districts. It is the only substantial source of income in the parish and it should be clear from the previous chapter that weaving is not an ancillary occupation to croft work except in a few cases in the south. The weavers are not 'crofter-weavers' so much as 'weaver-crofters'. A curious distinction between Carloway and the rest of the parish is that, whereas generally weaving is young mens' work, the great majority being under 45, in the Carloway area two-thirds of [178] the weavers are over 45. The historical reason for this may be the earlier spread of weaving into Carloway than elsewhere for, although some weaving has always been done throughout the area, it only became a major source of employment south of Carloway in the last 20 years or so. Thus few of the older men in the south learned weaving when they were young. A corollary is greater dependance on the Merchant Navy as a source of employment for young men from Carloway than for those from the south.

464 Other sources of regular local employment are lobster fishing (Bernera only), gamekeeping and other estate work (Bernera shore and South Uig), and government establishments (South Uig). In addition there are the usual services - postmen, haulage contractors,

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[113] * For a detailed discussion of the significance of weaving see Moisley, H. A., Harris Tweed - a growing Highland industry. Economic Geography, 37, 1961, pages 353 - 370.

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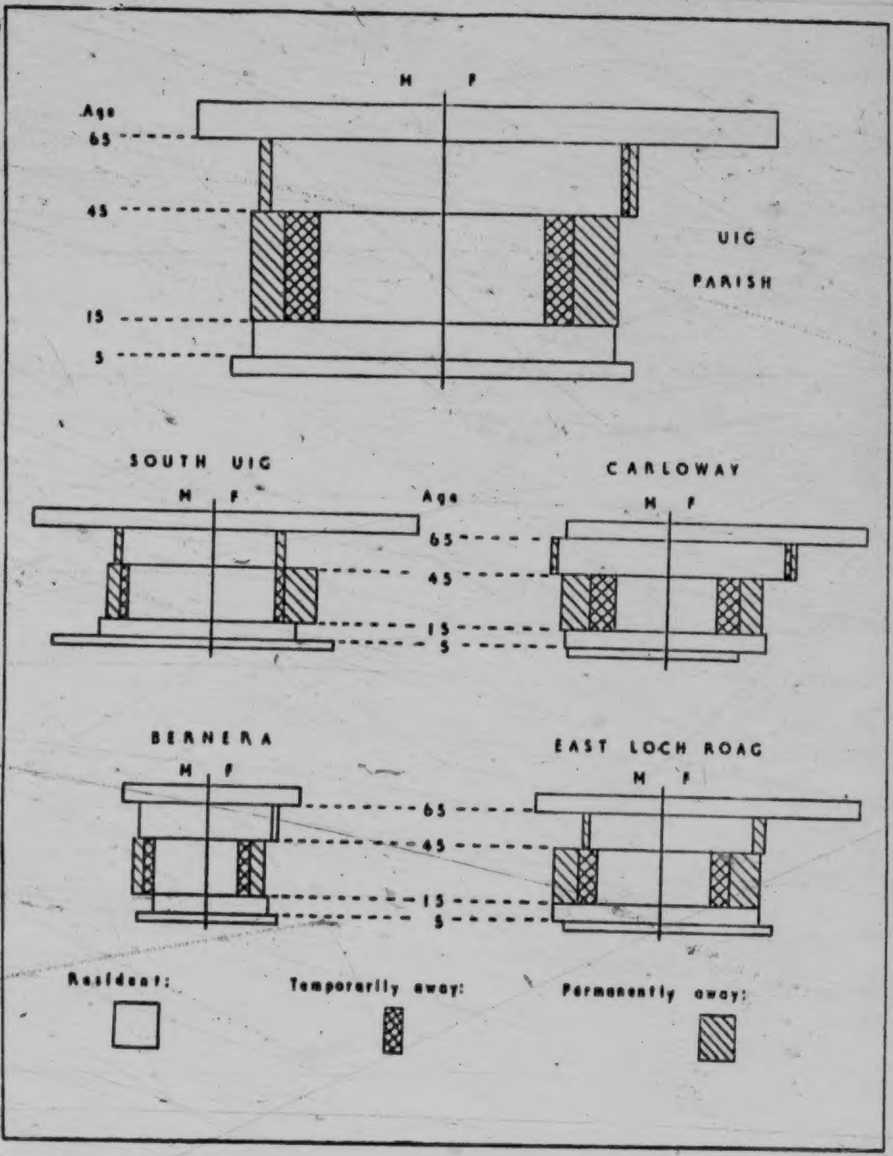

Figure 48

Population by age groups and place of employment

464 shopkeepers and so on. But none vies with weaving as a source of regular income.
[288] Without the weavers most of the others would find little demand for their wares or services.

Periodic work is taken locally, usually in default of regular employment, and often by older men who formerly worked away from home. This is usually casual labour and is particularly important - for lack of other opportunities - in South Uig. Whilst our survey was in progress a number of men from South Uig were thus engaged at the Gisla
464 hydro-electric scheme. In South Uig, also, weaving tends to be less regular than else-
288 where. For this some weavers blamed the Stornoway producers, who, it was claimed are not inclined to send work as far out as this unless it cannot otherwise be done. There
184 is some truth in this, particularly with respect to the 'small' (i.e. non-mill) producers, but our observations also showed that some men in South Uig regarded weaving as an 'extra' and were not prepared to do it when alternative employment, on the croft or for wages (as at Gisla), was offered. This may be a vicious spiral - the less weaving a man does the less good he becomes, he takes longer to complete a web and may suffer more deductions for faulty work. He becomes less inclined to weave and the producer becomes less inclined to send him work.

TABLE 56

Permanent Employment away from home (actual numbers)

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	Men:			Women:			
	M.N.	Professions:	Others:	Nursing:	Professions:	Domestic:	Others:
Uig Parish	46	11	63	59	18	39	27
Districts							
South Uig	5	4	12	22	2	16	2
Bernera	8	4	3	10	1	2	7
East Loch Roag	16	-	23	15	6	15	7
Carloway	22*	3	25	12	5	3	11

* including five working seasonally on whalers.

Those taking permanent employment away from home (table 56) tend to choose particular occupations. Amongst men, the Merchant Navy is most popular, especially from the Carloway and East Loch Roag districts; many of the others work at skilled or semi-skilled jobs, including the police forces; relatively few are un-skilled casual labourers. Amongst women, nursing is by far the most important occupation and is particularly popular amongst young women from South Uig and Bernera; most of ther others take 'domestic work' - in hotels and hospitals, rather than in private homes - and a few work in offices and shops. The category 'professions' in the table is almost synonymous with school-teaching.

Periodical, including seasonal, absence from home is less common than from some island districts; 14% of the 15-64 age-group is classified as "periodically away" (compare 27% from Park, 16% from Harris, 13% from Barra). Of these, half the men and a third of the women are students. Seasonal hotel work, for women, is the most important single category.

Population trends

162 The diagrams, figure 48, summarise much of this chapter. They have been constructed
126 so that the area of each horizontal bar is proportionate to the number of persons in the

162 appropriate age-group, males on the left, females on the right. The width of the bars
varies according to the age-range of the groups so that the length of each bar gives an
126 indication of the relative importance of the particular age-group in the total population.
In an unofficial survey it is difficult to obtain detailed information as to age; hence the
diagrams are crude, nevertheless they do suggest certain trends, as well as marked
regional differences, within the parish.

162 If we examine first the parish as a whole it will be seen that the proportion of children under school age, (0-4), is sufficient to maintain, and perhaps to slightly increase, the school population (5-14) provided that none are lost through emigration. The present school population is not quite sufficient to maintain the 15-44 age-group, including, of course, those working away, on the same assumption. In both these groups, as is usual, males slightly outnumber females.

The characteristics of the 15-44 age-group are clearly seen. A large number is working away from home; the proportion of women working away is far greater than of men and, in view of the "marriage risk" to women in this age group, it is reasonable to suppose that, in time, most of these women will become 'emigrants'. More men stay at home (weaving supports many of them) and, of those that go away to work, a substantial proportion is likely to return either on inheritence of a croft or when they retire; some of them may bring back wives from outwith the parish but it seems unlikely that this will by any means balance the loss of local women by marriage outwith the parish.

The 45-64 age-group is only slightly affected by the custom of working away. Men
and women are evenly balanced, but when we compare them with the 15-44 group it seems
that, in the next ten years or so, there will be a decline particularly in the number of
women aged 45-64. Indeed, if most of the women under 45, who are at present working
away, eventually marry and settle outwith the parish, the decline will be drastic. The
45-64 age-group should, in time, replenish the over 65's; it is clear from the diagram,
[161] crude as it is, that this is not possible. At present an excessive proportion of the popu-
lation is over 65 years of age and thus, in time and failing the unlikely event of substantial
immigration, a further fall in total population is certain. One may hazard a guess that
this decline will be of the order of 300 to 250 persons in the next ten years.

[121] Turning to the districts, the most striking feature is their individuality and this emphasises again the value of this kind of survey because such local details cannot be discovered from the official census reports. In South Uig, of the total population, a very high proportion is over 65 years of age; this makes it certain that further decline is inevitable. However the 15-44 group can probably replenish and maintain the 45-64 group with little loss; the relatively high proportion of children, particularly under school age, suggests that the 15-44 group, too, will be adequately replenished, except that there is an unusually low proportion of female children. A large proportion of young women from South Uig take employment away from home, as the diagram shows, and this suggests that South Uig may have a special problem here in view of the tendency of such women to marry and settle away from home. The Bernera district shows characteristics similar to South Uig, but the preponderance of children is not quite so great.

The East Loch Roag district, and to an even greater extent the Carloway district, has
[165] quite different characteristics which suggest rather different trends. There the pre-
ponderance of old people is not quite so great - but, one may remark in passing, the excess of females over males in the over 65's is quite astonishing until one recalls the heavy casualties, amongst the Naval reservists and others, from this area in the First World War. If we look at the proportion of children, however, it is clear that the school population can scarcely be maintained over the next ten years, nor can the 15-44 age-group be fully replenished. This, of course, assumes that there will be no material change in birth and death rates, nor in migration. In brief, it seems that, although population will inevitably continue to fall in South Uig and Bernera, the prospect of a more stable, though smaller, population is within sight. But in East Loch Roag and Carloway districts it seems likely that decline, though perhaps not so rapid, will continue for a long time yet.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

H.A. Moisley

121 The relationships between Place, Folk and Work are seldom simple; in a crofting community such as Uig they are particularly complex. The object of our survey was to make an impartial, factual record of the physical and human resources and their utilisation, as described in the Preface (Part I, page i). The primary purpose of this report is to make our observations available to others and to this end we have included a great deal of fact leavened, we hope, by a modicum of personal impression. In conclusion, however, it seems appropriate to add certain personal conclusions based on the detailed observations and data relating to the crofts and townships visited.

464 [166] The outstanding fact is that, over the whole parish more than a quarter of the population between the ages of 15 and 64 has to leave home in order to make a living. Of those who remain at home, 80% of the men are more or less engaged in agriculture; almost all of these have some other source of income, usually weaving, and in most cases the cash income from agriculture must be less than £100. Although we classified some 60% of resident males as 'crofters with regular employment' this must not be taken to be [434] necessarily the same as having a full-time job. The average income of a weaver in South Uig, for example, is only of the order of £250 per annum. Thus crofting with ancillary employment, or employment with ancillary crofting as is more often the case, conceals a good deal of under-employment. Such low incomes and hidden unemployment are characteristic of West European under-developed regions.

427 433 The crofting system can never provide an ideal structural system for agriculture, but that is not its real purpose. It is a social system and, whether it is economically efficient or not, it exists. It should not be allowed to decay for that would not only cause hardship to the crofting communities but would also, in the case of islands and other remote districts, 000 lead to the abandonment of potentially productive resources of land and people. Nor should it be preserved unchanged; preservation would mean fossilisation and fossils are dead. The present crofting system was cast in a legislative mould in the late nineteenth century when population pressed heavily on the resources of the islands. Circumstances have now changed and the mould must be altered or the communities will slowly die.

This is not to say that wholesale reorganisation is required, at least not in Lewis. But the authorities charged with the welfare of the crofting townships, and of the island as a whole, have a duty to see that crofting evolves towards something more, and not less, productive. Subsidies alone are a confession of defeat. It is not good enough merely to spend money to alleviate the symptoms of a disease which it is now fashionable to call 'under-development'. Realistic planning is required so that the special public expenditure incurred in such regions becomes a productive investment and not merely a disguised form of charity.

It is encouraging to note that such economic and technical developments as have taken place (particularly the development of weaving and the improvement of common pastures) owe a good deal to local initiative and local investment. This suggests that, given suitable guidance and encouragement, the crofting townships can do much to help themselves. It would be an excellent thing if, in each district, informal and quite unofficial discussion groups could be started to think about the future of their particular townships in terms of development and not decay.

Realistic discussion of development must face certain facts even though in some cases they may be unpalatable or politically unpopular. Amongst the most important are these:

000 161 162 311 433 1) Further depopulation is inevitable but is not necessarily bad. The special privileges of crofting tenure have tended to delay the inevitable because the agricultural structure has been unable to adapt itself to changing circumstances. The land is in some ways less productive than it was 80 years ago. But, as population does decline, eventually more land ought to be available for each remaining family and, if properly used, should enable them to increase the proportion of their incomes derived from agriculture. Thus depopulation could have beneficial effects provided it were not haphazard nor complete. The rate and ultimate extent of depopulation could be controlled to some extent if a realistic assessment of the possibilities of each district were made, followed by a vigourous attempt to realise these possibilities. This must be done locally because the problems and possibilities of each district, sometimes of each township, are different. How can this be done?

288 2) It is not realistic to plan for any extensive development of industry nor for any substantial further development of forestry or fishing. Lewis is suitable for the development of industry - the phenomenal growth of the Harris Tweed industry, with an annual output worth £5 million, much of it for export, is proof enough of that. But when it is difficult to get industrialists to invest in lowland Scotland there is little point in living in perpetual hope in Lewis. To constantly cry, as some politicians do, that 'the government should send industry to Lewis', is not helpful, either, for no government has ever had sufficient power, nor is it desirable that it should have, to force a firm to invest against its will. If there is to be some industrial development it must come willingly; it would be unwise to depend on it. It follows, therefore, that agriculture must be made a more efficient basis, though not the sole basis, of most crofting communities. The present heavy dependence on casual or seasonal employment, and on permanent employment away from home, can never provide the bases for a truly viable community though it may provide a useful outlet for some younger folk. On its present scale it leads to the neglect of the only widespread natural resource, the land, as well as encouraging permanent emigration.

311 433 3) Crofting agriculture, as at present carried on, on most crofts, does not make the best use of the local resources. The land is marginal in many respects and the development of an economic form of agriculture requires:

(a) particular skill in farm management, including initiative and technical ability to take advantage of new materials and methods, and
(b) a marketing system on which the crofter believes he can depend. At present it is the uncertainty, as much as the poverty, of the reward that deters young men from taking up agriculture seriously.

427 4) The small size of holdings need not be a serious disadvantage. Since the time of our survey subletting is no longer necessarily contrary to the conditions of crofting tenure; since it represents a voluntary evolution towards larger holdings it, rather than wholesale reorganisation, should be further encouraged.

5) It should be recognised that if a croft is not properly stocked it cannot justifiably be the subject of any of the privileges of crofting tenure. Failure to maintain a properly balanced stock is damaging to the land and to the ultimate well-being of the community as a whole. At one time the factors, through their ground officers, maintained a degree of control over the stocking of township lands and this could, in some way, be resumed - if not by the proprietors then by the Crofters Commission, - though the best way would be voluntarily, through the township committees. This would depend on establishing soumings which fairly represented the grazing capacity of the township lands; and on restricting the unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle. At present many soumings depend on restatements of old ones the validity of which is very dubious; soumings are unlikely to be respected unless they are reasonable.

181 6) Few crofters possess sufficient technical knowledge and confidence to make the best use of their land. It is particularly difficult for men with such limited resources of land and ready cash to embark on new agricultural enterprises; they are naturally reluctant to take risks and therefore tend to be excessively conservative. This cannot be put right quickly nor so long as the majority of those working the crofts are middle aged or older men who have spent the greater part of their working lives in other occupations. Such men require special help but, above all, some of the younger men must be encouraged to

OCD become crofter-farmers, alongside their brothers who may, for example be weaver-crofters.

Two means by which this might be encouraged are, firstly, an expansion of the Agricultural Advisory service, and secondly the introduction of some sort of 'development loan' scheme to finance the individual crofter who would submit for approval a development scheme for his agricultural unit and who would undertake to carry it out under the guidance of the Agricultural Adviser. There would need to be some means of ensuring that any parts of the unit that were sublet from other tenants remained in the 'improver's' hands for a reasonable length of time (this might be done by a simple form of agreement when registration of the sub-let took place). Such a scheme would require more Advisers, but more are needed in any case. The Advisers have done excellent work, which is beginning to bear fruit in some districts, but they are far too thin on the ground. It is the feeling that the Adviser is always at hand in case of idfficulty that gives the crofter confidence. At this stage in development it is too much to expect any one Adviser to manage more than 400 crofts until a race of crofter-farmers, familiar with modern methods and receptive of new ideas, has arisen. The success of the re-seeding schemes in other parts of Lewis shows what can be done.

The crofting scene, in Uig at any rate, is by no means wholly depressing despite the continuing decline in population. Nor does it require drastic action. What is important is that the present aimless drift should be replaced by something positive.

APPENDIX E

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233
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(i) Stock carried about 80 years ago compared with that carried today.

(a) Old Townships

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1883	1959	Soum	1883	1959	Soum
Brenish *	131	33	84	447	1,700	508
Islivig	46	9	43	93	500	228
Crowlista	101	18	89	632	1,200	414
Aird	40	6	34	137	600	206
Valtos	158	42	220	647	2,300	1,033
Kneep	84	22	76	341	1,000	455
Caryshader	42	9	45	267	500	183
Ungshader *	20	4	38	107	1,800	110
Geshader *	46	19	31	330		237
Enaclete *	48	16	17	172	900	298
Breaclete	53	25	59	215	630	312
Kirkibost	143	49	144	449	1,300	866
Hacklete	89	52	122	290	1,400	661
Tobson	116	36	97	534	950	784
Earshader	20	7	17	109	480	104
Crulivig	25	14	25	116	600	163
Callanish	160	41	161	397	1,600	795
Breasclete	188	52	191	629	1,600	567
Tolsta Chaolis	176	30	96	501	1,550	573
Lochganvich	31	9	33	125	414	155
Dun Carloway	121	35	130	530	1,550	460
Kirivich	63	15	60	280	550	202
Knock Carloway	118	39	132	524	950	530
Carloway	206	63	130	715	1,000	671
Borrowston	62	15	98	368	950	392
Garenin	110	24	98	401	1,000	341

(b) New Townships compared with former farms

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1879	1959	Soum	1879	1959	Soum
Mangersta *	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	25	68	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	1,200	385
Carnish		5	26		1,200	270
Ardroil		20	62			
Timsgarry		8	23		650	625
Reef		10	45		800	275
Croir		11	36		380	225
Lundale		11	36		550	96
Linshader		8	15		750	192
Garynahine		6	18		250	330
Farms etc.	404	44	-	4,400	914	180

Note These soums given do not allow for enlargements which should substantially increase the stock capacity of townships marked *.

Sources 1879: Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.
1883: Evidence given to the Napier Commission.

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(2) Population by Townships, etc., in selected years since 1841

	1841	1891	1931	1939	1951	1959
SOUTH UIG DISTRICT						
Mealasta	25	20	-	-	-	-
Brenish	174	229	110	78	60	62
Islivig	37	54	34	30	19	17
Mangersta	117	4	58	50	58	48
Carnish	168	14	17	10	7	13
Ardroil			69	60	60	58
Timsgarry	55	14	34	39	23	23
Crowlista	196	258	96	75	55	41
Aird	52	83	43	37	30	30
Valtos	335	480	175	149	145	116
Kneep	187	255	92	71	62	46
Reef	189	11	58	58	39	30
Caryshader	46	88	70	59	48	30
Geshader	60	142	62	57	34	37
Ungshader	22	32	38	37	26	10
Enaclete	55	52	52	38	36	36
Scaliscro	33	9	5	6	5	3
Others	114	71	29	43	35	29
TOTAL	1,865	1,756	1,042	897	742	629

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT						
Garynahine	69	12	13	65	57	60
Callanish	202	311	209	184	175	119
Breasclete Park	-	50	31	18	17	22
Breasclete	196	374	320	332	257	268
Tolsta Chaolis	183	298	203	152	152	138

	1841	1891	1931	1931	1951	1959
BERNERA DISTRICT						
Strome & Drovernish	24	-	-	-	-	-
Earshader	36	24	19	19	40	32
Crulivig	31	72	44	40	34	26
Lundale	-	-	32	26	23	19
Linshader	28	17	33	46	34	24
Hacklete	75	122	101	100	80	88
Kirkibost	8	148	157	156	102	79
Tobson	180	178	136	121	90	79
Bosta	79	-	-	-	-	-
Breaclete	57	84	72	74	64	59
Croir	75	3	59	43	24	-
Vuiamore	46	-	-	-	-	-

CARLOWAY DISTRICT						
Dun Carloway	128	298	203	134	152	88
Kirivick	53	105	98	80	65	47
Knock Carloway	97	219	122	172	176	167
Carloway	124	321	220	226	236	220
Carloway Park	?		54	70	16	15
Borroston	77	96	68	49	52	40
Garenin	75	164	142	126	101	93

Sources:

1841, 1891, 1931, and 1951 - unpublished official census returns, by courtesy of the Registrar General of Scotland.

1939 - National Register.

1959 - Glasgow University and G.F.G. survey.

black house--the traditional Highland Scots house; oblong, stone walls with thatched roof

broch--prehistoric circular stone tower, usually consisting of a double wall enclosing small apartments about a central court

clachan--a group of houses usually set in the midst of the arable land forming the settlement for a number of farmers

cottar--peasant tenant renting a small farm under the rack-rent system, the land being let to the highest bidder

creel--a wickerwork basket or trap; a framework of varying form

eild- barren (of an animal)

factor--steward or bailiff of an estate

feuar--one who holds land in fee

finger and toe disease -clubroot; a common disease of cabbages and related plants caused by a slime mold producing swellings or distortions of the root often followed by decline in vigor or by death

ghillie--variant of gillie; a male attendant, formerly on a chieftain, now especially on a hunter; or, a follower, servant

glebe--the cultivable land owned by a parish church or ecclesiastical benefice

hefting--variant of haft; a place devoted to a settled use, as for pasture, a dwelling

inbye--in an inward direction; situated close by, on the premises, near the house; arable and unimproved land kirk--a church; the Established Church of Scotland

lazy beds--long, narrow beds of peat separated by deep ditches, the peat from the ditches heaped on top of the undug land between

machair--windblown sandy plains along the beach

M.C.A.--Maritime Control Area

NAAFI--Navy, Army and Air Force Insititutes (responsible for clubs, canteens, and provision of some items for messing of British armed forces

O.D.--Ordnance Datum

outwith--outside of, out of

runrig--a system of land holding by which a tenant's land is apportioned so that it consists of strips lying between those of others

soum--the total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures

tacksmen--men who paid rent for large tracts of land and who, by settling suitable tenants there, received rents, in money or in labor, as an additional income from their farms

tupping--breeding, used of sheep

wedder--ram castrated before sexual maturity, usually before appearance of secondary sex characteristics